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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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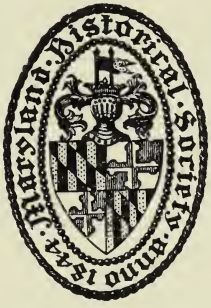

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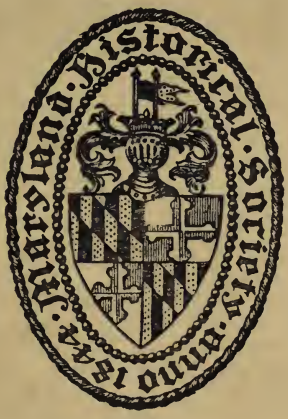
VOLUME XXXII

BALTIMORE

1937

Vol. XXXII MARCH, 1937 No. 1

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



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BALTIMORE

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VOLUME LII

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1755-56

This is the 52nd volume of the general series and the twenty-fourth of the sub-series relating to Assembly affairs. As is usually the case, the letter of transmittal to the Society, is a scholarly monograph on the period covered.

The years 1755 and 1756 were marked in Maryland by increased military activity on the western frontier against the French; the disastrous defeat of Braddock at the Monongahela; and at home by increaded tension and bickering between the Upper and Lower houses of Assembly. The seeds of dissension between the absentee landlord and his tenants had already been sown, and had taken root in the soil fertilized by mutual distrust and by dissensions on the subject of taxation; the seedling was being prepared for a vigorous, independent growth when a few years later it was to be further nourished by an added resentment against the King and his schemes of Taxation. The Roman Catholic question was also agitating the fears and prejudices, of the people. The abortive Scotch uprising in favor of the Young Pretender, although it had resulted in Charles Edward's defeat at Culloden in 1746, still filled men's minds with fear, and various additional repressive measures against Catholics in England ensued. The aggressions of the French, a Catholic nation, on the western frontier, and the outrages practiced by their Indian allies, caused the religious question to blaze up in Maryland with even greater intensity than in England.

In the Appendix may be found a number of hitherto unpublished papers, preserved among the manuscript archives of the State, reflecting upon the proceedings of the Assembly for the years 1755-1756.

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MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXII. MARCH, 1937. No. 1.

JOHN W. M. LEE,[1]
1848-1896.

Librarian of the Mercantile Library Association, 1870–1885; Librarian and Curator of the Cabinet, Maryland Historical Society, 1877–1892.

By RUTH LEE BRISCOE.

[This paper, prepared in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of Mr. Lee's death, is a tardy recognition of his services to the Society, and to the City and State as well. In the ninety-two years of its existence the Society has had the services and coöperation of hundreds of our most distinguished citizens, but it is safe to say, that no one has made greater contributions in the upbuilding of the institution than did John W. M. Lee in the fifteen years of his librarianship. As scholar, antiquarian and historian, he has left an indelible impression on the organization, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.—EDITOR.]

Nearly half a century has passed since the purchase of the *Calvert Papers* for the Maryland Historical Society, by the late John W. M. Lee, the Society's Librarian. During that time inquiries have been made for a biography of Mr. Lee, for the newspaper accounts at the time of his death were meagre. Owing to the paucity of printed information, this account of his life has been written with the aid of material gleaned from the *Archives of Maryland*, family records, correspondence, newspaper clippings, etc., and I dedicate it to the dear memory of my father.

John Wesley Murray Lee, born August 12, 1848, in Balti-

[1] Read before the regular meeting of the Maryland Historical Society, December 14, 1936.

more, Md., was the second son of John Wesley Lee and his wife Lucinda Green Fowler—parents of a large and gifted family. His father was one of the leading architects and builders of the city, a charter member of the Maryland Academy of Sciences, and an amateur mineralogist of note, whose superb collection of minerals was bequeathed to Western Maryland College. Fine dwellings, several churches in the city, and the Mount Vernon Cotton Duck Mills at Woodberry, were designed and built by him—the latter, built in 1874, said to have been a quarter of a century in advance of the modern building methods of that period. Mr. Lee retired from active business after the completion of these buildings, to devote his time to his financial interests, and to his scientific researches in the fields of geology and mineralogy. The Lee Building, northeast corner of Park and Lexington streets, owned by him prior to the Civil War—before Park street was condemned and opened by the city—is a Baltimore landmark. His wife, Lucinda Green Lee, was a beautiful woman, of impelling presence and strong characteristics. She lived to be 92 years old, and her accurate recollection of events of the past in Baltimore caused her to be consulted by those writing local history. As a very small child she was present with her mother, Mrs. Thomas H. Fowler, when the statue of George Washington was raised to the summit of the monument in Mount Vernon square. Mr. and Mrs. Lee were charter members of St. John's Methodist Protestant Church—" old St. John's " on Liberty street—the birthplace of the Methodist Protestant denomination. This family was intensely American, patriotic, public-spirited, and religious, and theirs was an austere home of staunch Republicans.

Mr. Lee, the subject of these memoirs, a descendant of the Lee family of Maryland and Virginia—which rendered many important services to the Crown and Provinces—was married February 24, 1874, in Christ Protestant Episcopal Church, Williamsport, Pa., to Miss Sarah Williams, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. George Williams, of Mauch Chunk, in the same state. Mentally alert and deeply interested in the pursuits of her husband she was, like him, from patriotic forbears. Two of her

ancestors, Francis Cooke and Richard Warren, were signers of the Compact in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, on the voyage which terminated at Plymouth in 1620. Through the former a direct descent is traced from Baron Saire de Quincey, first Earl of Winchester, a signer of the Magna Charta, June 15, 1215. Five children were born to this couple:

John Williams Lee (deceased),
Ruth Lee (Mrs. Charles A. W. Briscoe),
Elsie Fullerton Lee (Mrs. Paul Irvin Zimmerman),
John McCoy Lee (deceased),
Alice Lee (Mrs. William Jennison).

Before her marriage in 1903, Mrs. Zimmerman was an assistant Branch Librarian, Enoch Pratt Free Library. Mrs. Briscoe has been Librarian of the University of Maryland, School of Medicine, for over twenty years. Mr. Lee was not a member of any denominational church, but attended the Free Church of St. Barnabas (Protestant Episcopal), of which his family were parishioners.

While a student in the Baltimore City College, Mr. Lee enlisted with the Federal forces, 11th Maryland Regiment, Company G, and was engaged in the Battle of Monocacy, July 9, 1864—one of the finest young soldiers sent to the Civil War by the State of Maryland. Shortly after his military experience he was one of the committee of gentlemen selected by the Baltimore City School Board to go north and engage teachers for the public school system which was in the process of reorganization. One of these ladies, Miss Sarah Helen Stewart, of South Framingham, Mass., became the wife of his older brother, the late Henry Rowan Lee.

In 1865 Mr. Lee entered the service of the Mercantile Library Association, becoming its Librarian in 1870. From February 12, 1877, to January 11, 1892, he was also "Librarian and Curator of the Cabinet" of the Maryland Historical Society, and was associated for many years with the late Dr. William Hand Browne, a member of the faculty of the Johns Hopkins University, in editing the *Archives of Maryland*. In a letter of

condolence to Mr. Lee's bereaved family Dr. Browne wrote: "Few friends in my life have been nearer to me than he was; our work on the earlier *Archives* threw us much together; and his good-humour, wit, and warmth of heart at once endeared him to me. Work on the old manuscripts which otherwise would have been extremely tedious, became a pleasure in his company."

The valuable library of the late John W. McCoy, bequeathed by him to the Johns Hopkins University, was arranged and catalogued by Mr. Lee, who enjoyed the friendship and business confidence of Mr. McCoy, and was a legatee under his will. A newspaper article of this period, entitled "Mr. McCoy's Bequests," remarks in the closing paragraph:

"One of Mr. McCoy's youngest personal friends was Mr. John W. M. Lee. This friendship dates from a period when Mr. Lee—then little more than a boy, was a clerk in the old Mercantile Library. At that time Mr. McCoy was only a member of that institution, having not yet been elected to its Board of Governors. One day Mr. Lee noticed a tall, heavy-built man who was apparently reading, stow away a book under the old-fashioned circular coat he wore. Immediately Mr. Lee walked up to the gaunt fellow, grasped him by the arm, as if they were equally strong—the tenderly grown youth and the muscular man, and demanded a restitution of the book. Mr. McCoy, who happened to be within hearing, approached the pair, to take Mr. Lee's part if need be. But the man put the book back, and walked out in a hurry. Mr. Lee's behavior so pleased the appreciative witness that he then and there laid the foundation of a lasting friendship."

Mr. Lee served on various committees in connection with the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of the City of Baltimore (1730-1800). His advice was sought in the appraisals of fine estates—the most notable of which were those of the late John W. McCoy, and the late Hon. Severn Teackle Wallis, Provost of the University of Maryland, and one of the distinguished American lawyers of his time. After the settlement of the latter estate, a relative of Mr. Wallis called upon

him and presented a pair of cut crystal "syllabub glasses," which had been in their family for over a hundred years, as a token of their appreciation.

Mr. Lee's talent as an art critic developing with his great knowledge of books and literature, he became an authority in this country on rare books, manuscripts, pictures, ceramics, and orientalia. He resigned as Librarian of the Mercantile Library Association in 1885 to become Librarian for the late Mr. and Mrs. T. Harrison Garrett, parents of former United States Ambassador to Italy, Hon. John W. Garrett, Robert Garrett, and the late Horatio W. Garrett. The following is extracted from a letter to Mr. Lee when his resignation as Librarian of the Mercantile Library was accepted:

"That the years of faithful and able service of Mr. Lee to the Mercantile Library Association, well deserves the strongest commendation of this Board, and that this expression of it be recorded in the Minutes of its Proceedings, together with the Board's unfeigned regret at closing a connection which, for so long a time has been so agreeable to every gentleman in the Library's government, so conspicuously serviceable to the Library, and so widely helpful to this community."

And it was further voted:

"That the members of the Board have such full knowledge of the character, talents, and integrity of Mr. Lee, that they are thoroughly assured that, in the important field he is about to occupy, he will distinguish himself, gratify his principal, bring Mr. Garrett's great collection of engravings to the most complete and intelligent order, and add to the personal well-being of himself and his family.

(Signed):

HENRY C. WAGNER,
Recording Secretary,

JOHN W. MCCOY,
President of the Mercantile Library Association."

Mr. Lee had previously purchased, as agent for Mr. Garrett, a collection of prints owned by the late James L. Claghorn of Philadelphia, and at that time known as one of the finest privately owned art collections in this country. A check-list of the prints, bearing the signature of Mr. Lee, may be seen at the Baltimore Museum of Art, where they are on loan for exhibition purposes by Mr. Garrett's surviving sons. Frequently consulted by the late William T. Walters and his son, Henry Walters, also deceased, founders of Walters Art Gallery—willed by the latter to the City of Baltimore—in reference to their great collection of art treasures, Mr. Lee made purchases for them, and assisted in making their descriptive catalogues.

In April, 1888, Mr. Lee was sent to England by the Maryland Historical Society, of which he was Librarian, to negotiate for the purchase of the *Calvert Papers*, pertaining to the early history of the State of Maryland. Mr. Garrett, in whose service Mr. Lee then was, readily consented to spare him for the purpose. These papers had been buried in an out-building on the property of the owner, Colonel F. H. Harford, a retired officer of the British army, and a descendant of the last Lord Baltimore. Mr. Lee examined the documents at the offices of Colonel Harford's solicitors in London, and travelled down to Colonel Harford's seat, "Down Place," near Windsor, in order to obtain the most precise information about the *Calvert Papers*. They consisted of nearly one thousand documents on paper and parchment, from the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, many of them bearing the Seals of the Lords Baltimore. Among them were Mason and Dixon's own map, the boundary disputes between Maryland and Pennsylvania, rent-rolls, heralds' and genealogical scrolls relating to the Calvert and other families, etc.

Mr. Lee's foreign letters to his family were full of incidents of thrilling interest. In them the spirit of his well-stored mind, appreciative of all that was impressive and beautiful in history, art, and literature, breathes again, and flowers in his writings. I quote some passages:

"Westminster Abbey is a magnificent building. Walking around, on every hand I met familiar names—people who have

made England what she is—warriors, statesmen, poets. . . ." "St. Paul's Cathedral is a building planned on the form of St. Peter's in Rome, and our own Cathedral is a very perfect facsimile, only smaller. . . ." "Colonel Harford (owner of the *Calvert Papers*, said he had gotten from his friend, Sir John Colwell, Master of the House, Windsor Castle, a letter admitting me to all the apartments which were practicable to show. . . . Such a maze of elegance, such a labyrinth of rooms one does not see outside of the royal palaces." Through the friendly offices of the late Hon. Henry White, then Charge d'Affaires in London, and later United States Ambassador successively to Italy and to France (1907-1909), and his brother, the late Julian LeRoy White, both Baltimore men, with whom he had been acquainted from boyhood, he was invited to meetings of literary and art clubs: the Club of Odd Volumes where "about forty gentlemen were present. I was placed near the President, at the head of the table." The Isthmian Club. The Constitutional Club, "a magnificent structure . . . probably the handsomest club house in London, with a membership of six thousand persons." The American Club, "where I met Bret Harte, William Black, the novelist, and Whistler, the artist." The Whitefriars Club, "where I met Canon Harford, Dean of Westminster Abbey, who wishes me to call upon him."

The *Calvert Papers* were brought to this country in iron-bound chests on the Cunard steamship *Servia*, under the personal care of Mr. Lee, and placed in the fire-proof vault of the Maryland Historical Society on the evening of June 11, 1888.

But the gracious, public-spirited Mr. Garrett, who had made possible the purchase of the *Calvert Papers*, was no more. It is stated that one of the last acts of his life was to make a generous donation to the enterprise. While Mr. Lee was on the high seas homeward bound from England with the precious cargo, the *Calvert Papers*, Mr. Garrett's beautiful private yacht, the *Gleam*, was rammed and sunk by the *Joppa* in the harbor of Baltimore, and Mr. Garrett met a tragic death by drowning. The body was recovered the day after Mr. Lee arrived in Baltimore. He returned with all the glory of his European trip,

and its high adventure upon him, to face a shock from the effects of which he never fully recovered. He had buried one of his own small children, and three young brothers, and had seen his only sister become totally blind at the age of five years—but Mr. Garrett's lamentable death seemed to be the hardest blow of his life. I was a small child at that time, but one of the clearest of my memory pictures is that of my parents, garbed in full mourning, departing from our home to attend Mr. Garrett's funeral from his magnificent estate "Evergreen," where Mr. Lee sadly assisted in the last rites.

Although Mr. Lee's span of years was busy, crowded, and eventful, he found time in his scant leisure to write many papers, and two books:

A Handlist of Laws, Journals, and Documents of Maryland, to the Year 1800;

A Bibliography of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company from 1827 to 1879;

both of which were privately printed for him at the Chiswick Press, London. He compiled the second edition of Prints from the collection of T. Harrison Garrett in 1886, and made a Catalogue of the *Calvert Papers* in 1889. The manuscript catalogues which he made of the various libraries with which he was connected fifty and more years ago, aged with the patina of Time, have the appearance of copper-plate engraving. Among his literary relics was an Index of Maryland authors (unfinished).

In a word, the work of Mr. Lee was varied and enormous; but, owing to his extreme modesty concerning his affairs, no complete chronology, no adequate evaluation of it can ever be made.

And now I approach the evening of his days. My father was of medium stature and slight of build, with fine blue eyes, black hair and beard—presenting the traditional presence and demeanor of a gentleman and a scholar. He was never very robust, and an attack of grippe in January, 1894, completely undermined his health. Part of the winter of 1895 was passed in

North Carolina health resorts; in the summer of that year he was taken to the Adirondacks and placed under the medical care of his friend, the late Dr. Edward L. Trudeau, founder of the Trudeau Sanitorium at Saranac, and of the modern sanitorial method for the treatment of tuberculosis. Commenting on the circumstances my father wrote: "It is almost unbelievable that I am become his patient!" On the morning of February 10, 1896, my father passed out of life, at Rice's-on-Lake Clear, New York, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The remains were brought to our home, 708 North Arlington avenue, and with profound sorrow tenderly laid to rest in the Lee family lot, Loudon Park Cemetery, on the fourteenth of February. Widely beloved by his family and friends, and long deplored. A picture of my father, taken in April, 1888, when he was leaving for England on the mission of the *Calvert Papers*, appropriately inscribed and framed, has been presented to the Gallery of the Maryland Historical Society, as a memorial to him.

Combining rare intellectual worth and a genius for friendship with strength and purity of character, my father was ideal in his human relationships. With a particularly charming personality and the ability to do and to enjoy his professional work, he was well and favorably known to the literary and art-loving public of the Baltimore of his day as librarian, author, archivist, and connoisseur of the Fine Arts. Of him it can be truly said: "He warmed his hands at the fire of Life."

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY.

Edited by James A. Padgett, Ph. D.

In America, a diversity of climate, soil, and topography produced a diversity in economic development. Its needs and interests in turn created a demand for better communication. Discouraged by the difficulty of completing land carriages, James Rumsey turned his attention to the perfecting of some method of propelling vessels upon water. By experiment he tried to obtain a proper method of propulsion, by which the vessel could be moved by active power. In his first model, which he showed to George Washington, he used the steam engine to do the work of pumping in and ejecting water. His boat was designed to move against the stream by the force of the water acting on a wheel, to which setting poles were attached. This mechanism, with some manual assistance, was successfully demonstrated by Rumsey at Shepherdstown, Maryland on December 3 and 11, 1787.[1]

It is said that Rumsey tried out his invention at night in October, 1783 at Sir John's Run in the presence of his friends, Orrick and Barnes.[2] Since there were no national patent laws, it was necessary to secure patents from the state legislatures. In 1784 Rumsey sent memorials to the legislatures of Virginia and Maryland. The latter granted him exclusive privilege and benefit of making and selling his invented boat for a period of ten years.[3] Washington gave Rumsey a certificate, in which he highly praised the work of Rumsey. Virginia also granted him exclusive rights accruing from his invention.[4]

In 1785 John Fitch petitioned the legislature of Maryland for the exclusive right to build and navigate steamboats in

[1] George M. Beltzhoover, *James Rumsey, the Inventor of the Steamboat*, 15-16.

[2] *Ibid.*, 10.

[3] *Ibid.*, 10-11.

[4] William P. Hening (Compiler), *Virginia Statutes at Large*, XI, 502.

Maryland.[5] Naturally the question arose as to whether Fitch or Rumsey had first invented the steamboat. In order not to do any injustice to either Rumsey or Fitch, the legislature of Maryland referred the matter to a committee of which Thomas Johnson was its chairman. It was necessary to ascertain when Rumsey first thought of the idea of propelling boats by steam. Johnson, on March 16, 1787, wrote Washington that Rumsey, in October, 1784, had suggested to him the use of steam for propelling boats.[6] He also inquired of Washington relative to the matter. To which Washington replied, on November 22, 1787, that the use of steam was not in Rumsey's original plan, but Rumsey has discussed the idea of steam propulsion prior to 1785,[7] when it was first conceived by Fitch according to his own admission.[8] Johnson also procured another affidavit from a reliable witness purporting that Rumsey had, in 1784, suggested " that a boat might be constructed to work by steam, and that he intended to give it a trial." [9] In 1787 Johnson reported to the legislature of Maryland that Rumsey had evidently conceived the idea as early as 1784 or perhaps earlier. In view of this report, the legislature of Maryland rejected Fitch's application.[10]

In the winter of 1787-1788 Rumsey went to Philadelphia where the Rumseian Society with Franklin as its president was organized. In May, 1788 with the aid of this society Rumsey went to England [11] and then to France.[12] In both countries he hoped to interest idle capital. He was more successful in England where he secured some assurance of financial aid. In 1790 just before his boat was ready to be launched, it was levied on

[5] Beltzhoover, *op. cit.*, 11.

[6] Edward S. Delaplaine, " Life of Thomas Jefferson," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 185; Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[7] Washington Letter Books, Library of Congress.

[8] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 185-8.

[9] *Ibid.*, 188.

[10] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 189.

[11] Beltzhoover, *op. cit.*, 21.

[12] Rumsey to West, March 21, 1788; Rumsey to Morrow, March 27, 1789; Rumsey to Morrow, April 12, 1789, Rumsey Papers, Library of Congress.

for debt.[13] He began a series of lectures in order to raise funds to redeem his boat. He died on December 23, 1792, of apoplexy, at a public lecture, where he was explaining the mechanism for propelling the steamboat which he had invented.[14] However, his boat the *Columbian Maid* made its maiden trip on the Thames in 1793.

Although Rumsey did not live to receive any remuneration from his invention, his name has been perpetuated. In 1839 Congress adopted a resolution requesting President Martin Van Buren to present to James Rumsey, Jr., his only living child, a suitable gold medal to commemorate his father's success. Thus the Congress of the United States sustained the committee report of Johnson which held that James Rumsey was the first man to successfully model a boat propelled by the use of steam.[15]

James Rumsey, the author of these letters, was born at "Bohemia manor" Cecil County, Maryland, in 1743. He was the son of Edward and Anna (Cowan) Rumsey. He was educated in the elementary schools and was a blacksmith by trade. He served in the Revolution, and at its conclusion entered in the mercantile business at Bath, now Berkeley Springs, West Virginia. Here he built some houses for Washington. Upon one of Washington's visits to his plantation at Bath, Rumsey exhibited his model of the steamboat. Pecuniary difficulties caused him to accept the position of superintendent of the Potomac Navigation Company in 1785. Due to the difficulty in procuring labor and having his salary increased, he resigned at the end of his first year and resumed his work on the steamboat. Through the influence of Washington he gave a public exhibition of his boat which could run against the current at the rate of four miles per hour. After the Rumseian Society sent him to England, in 1788, he secured a patent (no. 1673). Two years later he secured his second patent (no. 1738)[16] for his new boat of one hundred feet in length and width and depth

[13] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 189.

[14] George Johnston, *History of Cecil County, Maryland*, 508.

[15] Beltzhoover, *op. cit.*, 27; *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 189.

[16] *American Biographical Dictionary*, XVI, 223.

in proportion. His death on December 23, 1792 closed the career of one of America's great inventors.[17]

Among the chief correspondents of James Rumsey were George Washington,[18] Thomas Jefferson,[19] and Charles Morrow and Monsieur West.[20]

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[17] H. W. Dickinson, *Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist*, 128.

[18] The Washington Papers in the Library of Congress now fill more than four hundred volumes of manuscripts. Physically these records may be grouped in: Bound notebooks and diaries, many in the original bindings; bound account books, some in Washington's handwriting; bound letter books; letter record books; the Varick Transcript of forty-four volumes; drafts of letters from the original letters of Washington, arranged in two hundred and ninety-nine volumes; photostat copies of manuscripts scattered throughout the United States; letters received by Washington; and various other collections. This collection is supposed to comprise about ninety-eight per cent. of his surviving papers. John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington from the Original Sources*, 1745-1799, I, Introductory Notes; North Carolina Records, XVI, 149.

[19] The Thomas Jefferson manuscripts in the Library of Congress include, in addition to diaries, note books, account books, and journals, 236 volumes of correspondence (c. 40,000 pieces). In 1848 the government bought the main collection from his estate. There is a calendar of three volumes published by the State Department, Bureau of Rolls and Library (1894-1903), which covers only about seven-eighths of the entire collection because other accessions have been made since the papers were transferred to the Library of Congress by Executive Order of March 9, 1903. These manuscripts contain dates pertaining to almost every phase of Jefferson's life—the management of his farm, his law practice, his scientific interests, his interest in art, literature, separation of church and state, freedom of the press, and education, particularly his connection with the University of Virginia, as well as his political and state papers. He had correspondence with most of the leading men of the United States and some in foreign countries. These letters throw much historical light on important state and national politics and economic affairs.

[20] The Rumsey Collection in the Library of Congress comprise four letters written from Paris or London, 1789-1790, addressed to Captain Charles Morrow, Shepardstown, Maryland or Monsieur West, London, England; they deal with the boat he was building or his efforts to procure patent rights; also a volume of type written copies of the papers in the suit of James McMechin against the executors of Ramsey's estate, 1784-1802; McMechin's memorial to Honorable George Wythe; and copies of letters of Rumsey to Captain Charles Morrow and Dr. James McMechin, written from London, 1791-1792. In editing these letters the main idea in view has been to make an exact reproduction.

To George Washington [21]

Alexandria 18th Oct^{r} 1784

Sir—

At twenty Days Sight please to pay Herbert & Potts forty pounds Curr^{y} Value in Acct. With them & place the Same to Acct.[22] With

Sir.—Your Most Hble Serv^{t}

James Rumsey

To His Excelly Gen^{l} Washington—

To George Washington [23]

Alexandria Oct^{r} 19th 1784

Dear General

I have been geting of M^{r} Herbert,[24] a few Coarse Clothes for my Workman, and a few materials towards Buildings, and has Taken the Liberty to Draw on you in his favour, for forty pounds Curencey payable at twenty Days Sight. I thought It my duty to give you Notice of it— The honor you Did me at Bath by giveing me So ample a Certificate [25] I shall Eve most

[21] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[22] James Rumsey was employed by Washington to construct some buildings for him at Bath. Rumsey to Washington, June 24, 1785.

[23] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[24] About Mount Vernon and Alexandria Washington associated with or had dealings with John Herbert, John Carlyle Herbert, William Herbert, Herbert & Co., John Potts and John Potts, Jr., John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, I, 386; II, 98, 108, 422, 446; IV, 275, 280, 279, 311.

[25] Certificate to Mr. James Rumsey: "I have seen the model of Mr. Rumsey's Boats constructed to work against stream; have examined the power upon which it acts;—have been an eye witness to an actual experiment in running water of some rapidity; & do give it as my opinion (altho' I had little faith before) that he has discovered the art of propelling Boats, by mechanism & small manual assistance, against rapid currents;—that the discovery is of vast importance—may be of the greatest usefulness in our inland navigation—&, if it succeeds, of which I have no doubt, that the value of it is greatly enhanced by the simplicity of the works, which

greatfully acknowledge It Convicts almost Every person that Sees it and puts, Quite a new face on my Scheme I Long to have the Opertunity of Convincing those that Remain Unbelievers that you are not mistaken in your opinion [26] I am with perfect Esteem your Ob^{t} hble Serv^{t}

James Rumsey

General George Washington

To George Washington [27]

Bath March the 10th 1785

Dear Sir

Your favour of the 22^{d} Ultim^{o} has just Come to hand and it gives me much Uneasyness that I should, though unintentionly, have gave you So much trouble about Ryans note. as well as not Comeing up to my promis in the Repayment of the money you Lett M^{r} Herbert have on my acount, I am also hurt that from the present apearance of things you have Reason to

when seen & explained to, might be executed by the most common mechanics.—

Given under my hand at the town of Bath, County of Berkley in the State of Virga. this 7th day of September, 1784

Geo. Washington"

Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[26] Joseph Barnes, brother-in-law of Rumsey, who was a carpenter, built the hull for his first boat in 1783. It sucked water in at the front of the boat and forced it out at the rear, thus forcing it through the water. It was tried in October, 1783, at night at Sir John's Run near Bath. Some claim that his pole boat was not really a steamboat, but its motive power was steam. James Rumsey tried all kinds of ways to make a living: in 1783 he and Nicholas Orrick were in the mercantile business in Bath which is now Berkley Springs, West Virginia; and the next year he and Robert Throckmorton were operating a boarding house here. With all his labors he found time to work on his hobby. George M. Beltzhoover, *James Rumsey, The Inventor of The Steamboat*, 8, 9; Thompson Westcott, *Life of John Fitch*, 138, 173.

[27] Washington Papers, Library of Congress. A short excerpt from this letter about the steamboat is published in George M. Beltzhoover, *James Rumsey, Inventor of the Steamboat.*

think me a person not posessed of the Least honor Or Delicacy, To be Capable, as you have Very Justly Observed, of Sending you the note of a Shufling player, for Shufling he Certainly is. But your goodness Sir, is Conspeceious in your Letter to me (as well as on all Other ocations) to give me Such Indulgences as you have proposed at a time when you have Reason to think I Do not Deserve it. But although I am Senceable that nothing I can offer as Excuse Should be Received as full Satisfaction as the money was not paid yet I trust that you may not think So hard of me when I give you a detail of my proceedings after I had the honour of Seeing you Last.—I Stayed at Richmond near two weeks after my business was Done Endeavouring to get Sum money of Ryan But to Little purpose Except Sufisiant to pay my Expenses I then Told Him the Solemn Ingagement I was under to you For the payment of fifty pounds in a few weeks and as I thought It might tend to make him punktial I took the Liberty to have the note Drawn in your name But never intended you Should See it much more to have So much trouble with it. When I was on my way home I met with a Mr klinehoof of Alexandria knowing him to be a Safe hand, and thinking my acquaintance with Mr Herbert, would Intitle me to ask him a Small favour, as I Conceived it, I Enclosed the note in a Letter to him and beged him In the most Serious and pressing terms to Send the note to his Friend in Richmond for payment against the Day it was Due and if the money was Obtained to give it to you Immediately But by no means to present the note to you that it was only Drawn in your name to urge the other to payment. my hearing no more of the matter for Sum time gave me hopes that the money was Received by Mr Herbert, abought the first of Febuary I had an Opertunity of writing to Mr Herbert abought matter and Sum other Business But to my great Surprize his answer Respecting the note was—, The note being Drawn In the generals name I Delivered it to him,— This Answer gave me great uneaseness Lest it Should turn out as it Really has I had one Chance that I thought good in Berkeley to get the money where it was Due me, But all me Indavours proved Inafectual or I Should have immediately

Come Down, I therefore waited the Event of Ryans note with great anxiety, your Letter Announced it and your Indulgence Exceeded my most Sanguine Expectations. I had an Opertunity to Richmond and pressed Ryan hard to pay the note had no answer but heard of his Sickness and his Since Removing to Norfolk, if you will be kind enough to Leave the note with Mr Herbert when I Come or Send to Alexandria perhaps I may yet get in his favour to forward it to Ryan if not I can have it home.— Respecting your houses Sir, they will shortly be built agreeable to your Directions, and would have been had I not have heard from you at all as I had Spoke to a man before I went to Richmond that kept two or three workmen to build me the kitchens and Stables of all the houses I had to build, my Stay was so Long that before I got home the Loggs ware all Sewed the Shingles got and are all on the Spott Ready for Raising. I hope Sir you Will not Disaprove when I tell you of my proceeding Respecting your Big house, nor Construe it Into a Desire of me to Revise our old agreement, But I have it under way the window Shutters Doors and Sash are all made and the most of the moaldings Every Inch of the Stuff is Sawed and I have agreed with a man to frame and Raise it against the first Day of may, I shall not Call upon you nor Draw any Orders more for money nor Do I Desire that you Should Send me any Except you Can Spare it with the greatest Convenance, and I now give you my word that I will not Distress myself to finish it if I find I Cannot Do it without, I will Quit when I have it Inclosed which I can Do with But Little more Expense and it will then Be as Secure against the weather as if it Was Done—

Respecting my Boats Georgia & South Carilina I have not petioned North Carolina I have But have not heard what they have Done, maryland I hear has gave me an Exclusive Right under a redeption by the Legeslature, pensylvania has Done the Same, the Jerseys threw it out of the house by a mejority of four, new york Assembly was not Siting which was the forthest that I made applycation to northward— I have made many neat and accurate Experiments with my Boats, Since I Saw

you, and find they far Exceed my Expectations on the first Experiments made Last fall I find She will go a greater proportion of the Velosity of the water in Rapid Current than Slow ones. the Reason is, the friction is nearly the Same In Both Cases, it therefore takes a greater part of the force of a Small Current to over Come it, when a Very Small proportion will Do it with Ease in Rapid water, I have Deduced a Rule from Experiments By which I can tell what Quantity of paddle Boards, a head, to Each tun, the Boat Caryes, is nesarary to go up with any proportion you think proper to the Stream that Comes Down, by which I find that the Resistance of water against Boats Increases Exactly as the Squares of the Velosity of the Boats against it, Nither Can their be a general Rule to give the Resistance that Boats of the Same Burthen and Velosity meets with If their forms is Different for I find that Bad Shaped Boats meets with nearly three times the Resistance that good ones Do of the Same Burthen, a well Shaped Boat will move ahead, be her Burthen what it may, as fast as the water Comes Down with three Square feet of paddle Board ahead for Each ton weight taken Up, the Boat weight Included, the fourth part of that much paddle Board will move her up half as fast as the Current Comes Down and four times that much paddle Board will Move her up twice as fast as the Current Comes Down, it then follows that if a Boat and her Load weighing Eight tun, with twenty four Square feet of paddle Boards ahead was to move up a River as fast as the Current Came Down, that if Six tuns was taken out of Said Boat which would Leave But Little more than an Empty Boat that, She would then go up the River with twice the Velosity that the Current Came Down So much for the kind of Boat, the Modle of which you Saw—

I have taken the greatest pains to afect another kind of Boats upon the princeples I was mentioning to you at Richmond I have the pleasure to Inform you that I have Brought it to the greatest perfection It is true it will Cost Sum more than the other way But when Done is more mannagable and Can be worked by a few hands, the power is amence and I am Quite

Convinced that Boats of pasage may be made to go against the Current of the Mesisipia or ohio River, or in the gulf Stream from the Leward [28] to the Windward Isslands [29] from sixty to one hundred miles per Day I know it will appear Strange and Improbeble and was I to Say thus much to most people in the neighbourhood they would Laugh at me and think me mad But I can ashore you Sir, that I have Ever Been Very Cautious have I aserted any thing that I was not Very Certain I could perform Besides it is no phenomena, when known, But Strickly agreeable To philosiphy, The principles of this Last kind of Boat I am Very Cautious not to Explain to any person, as it is easy performed and the method would Come Very natural to a Rittenhouse or an Elieott The plan I mean to persue is to Build the Boats with Boath the powers on Board on a Large Scale and then Sir, if you would Be good anough Once more to See it make actual performances I make no Doubt but the assembleys will alow me Sumthing Clever which will be better for the Public as well as my Self, than to have the Exclusive Rights, I am astonished that it is so hard to force an Advantage on the public, admit it Did make the fortune of one man.—I Cannot help But Stare when I look back at the Length of my Letter. it is a very Strikeing Representation of the propensity a man has to Say a greal deal when he gets upon his favorite Theme. Least the Length of my Scrawl Should become tiresome to Read, I shall therefore Conclude by Returning you my most Sincere thanks for the many favours you have Done me, & am with Every Sentiment of Regard your Sincere friend and Very hb^{e} Cerv^{t}.—

James Rumsey

His Excellency George Washington Esq^{r}
Mount Vernon

[28] The name Leward Islands is applied to three groups: (a) the group of Islands north of Venezuela and west of Trinidad—the Leward Islands of the Spaniards; (b) same as Greater Antilles; (c) a British colony in the northern division of the Lesser Antilles. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, IX, 599.

[29] The Winward Islands form the southern part of the Lesser Antilles, including St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, and the Grenadines. *Americanna*, XXIX, 386.

To George Washington [30]

Bath June 24th 1785

Sir

I had the honor of Receiving your favour of the 5th Inst with the Inclosures and am happy to find that you Excuse my Imprudence Respecting Mr Ryans note, But the following account I fear will give you Sum Dispapointment the number of houses [31] I Undertook was four yours Included that was Large the Stuff for the hole was Sawed But from the Badness of the Roads ocationed by So much Rain the greatest part of it Lay at the mill—Untill the Beginning of April when Unfortunately the Sawmill took fire in the night and was not Diccovered untill next Day By which time the mill was Intirely Consumed with a great part of the Plank and Scantling this Stroke put it Intirely out of my Power to proceed with your Large house and not withstanding my Outmost Exertions at Other mills to get the Stuff Necessary It has put me so far back that I Shall Be under the Disagreeable Nesesaty of Disappointing at Least One of the three Gentlemen that I have Obligated with for the present Season But I have prepared him a house Should he Insist on being furnished with one, I Should have gave you this Information much Sooner but I Saw your brother Coln John Washington [32] at April Court and he Said he would Inform you of It as he went home perhaps he Did not See you or multiplisity of Business may have Caused it to have Slipped his memory, I have got my Boat nearly Done the Mechinery Excepted. Inclosed I send a Letter for you and the Directors [33]

[30] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[31] For information regarding these buildings see note 38 and John C. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *The Diaries of George Washington*, II, 395, 396, 282-3, 327, 328, 391, 397, 400, 401, 402, 424; III, 75, 85, 122.

[32] John Augustine Washington, the youngest brother of George, was born January 13, 1736; married Hannah, the daughter of Colonial Bushrod of Westmoreland County, Virginia; and died in this county in February, 1787. W. C. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington*, XIV, 428-9.

[33] At a meeting of the Directors of the Potomac Company, July 14, 1785, James Rumsey was selected manager of the works. On July 4, 1786,

of the Potomack Company and if you please be kind enough to Read it and have it Delivered or Suppresed as you may think best I can only add that Should I have the honour of an apointment I will Exert myself to the Outmost of my power to afect the Business. your Samll houses are nearly Done the Chimney Sellers &c will be very Compleat, their will be Some money Comeing to me and I am Sorry I am under the nesesaty of Requesting the favour of you to answer the first Draft towards my share of the potomack navegation I am Sir your Sincere freind [sic] and Very hb[l] Serv[t]

James Rumsey

To George Washington [34]

Great Falls of Patomack [35] the 25 March 1786

Whereas a Great number of the Inhabitants of this Neighbourhood Has Made Complaint to me—that they have been Insulted and ill treated When they come to this Place About their Lawful Business and that Officers of Justice has been so Intemidated by threats that they Do not think it Safe to come to the Place to Execute their Office—

I therefore think it my Duty as Superintendent of the Business to Pledge myself that all Persons for the future may Come hear unmolested to do their Lawfull Business of what Ever kind it may be And that all Persons that Conceive that they have been Injured Shall have Redress upon Making it Clearly Appear [36]

James Rumsay

Rumsy declined to serve longer at the pay and emoluments allowed him. The directors would not increase the pay so they elected Mr. Stuart, the assistant manager to succeed him, and increased the salary of Mr. Smith, the other assistant, to £200 per annum in Maryland currency. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of Washington*, II, 391, 397, 400, 401, 402, 424; III, 85.

[34] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[35] Great Falls was a town near the Great Falls of the Potomac, in Fairfax County, Virginia. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of Washington*, II, 415, Rand, McNally, *Commercial Atlas*, 433.

[36] Rumsey was at this time manager of the works of the Potomac Company, Note 33.

To George Washington [37]

Great Falls March 29th 1786

Dr General.

This will be handed to you by Mr Brindley.[38] We have had the pleasure of his, and Mr Harris[s] [39] Company Since yesterday, and they Boath approved of what is Done and proposed there—

On Sunday Evening the 26th of this Inst I Received your favor of the 20th Respecting the Conduct of the people working here, It Distress me that you had Accation to Write on Such a Subject. What follows is as near what has happened Since I Came Down as I am Able to Relate.

On my way Down I heard great Complaints against the people of the falls, But as Such Complaints has been frequent when no outrages Has bee Committed, I thought But Little of them. I was But a Short time at the falls before I Set Out for alexandria, and Mr Stuart [40] with me for Baltimore During which time they Behaved themselves Very well, On my Return from alexandria to this place the Complaints that was made to me was Shocking, that no person Could Come on their Lawful Business But what got abused and that Officers of Justice Durst not go on the ground to Execute their Offices In ConSiquence of these Complaints, I Immediately Set up advertisments, Letting the Neighbors know that they Should be treated well when they came to the place, and the officers that they Should be protected In the execution of their office, for which I pledged myself to them Notwithstanding these advertisements, the Officer that had Mr Jacksons warrants Summined fifty men to Come here on monday Last to aid and assist him, this Expidetion was Intended private which was the Reason your Letter was not Handed to me Sooner, But I was Lucky

[37] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[38] Washington records in his *Diary*, March 29, 1786, that James Brindley, Manager of the Susquehanna Canal Company, spent the night at his home. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Diaries of Washington*, III, 35-36, 160.

[39] Mr. Harris was the son-in-law of Mr. Brindley, *ibid.*, 160.

[40] Mr. Stuart was a man from Baltimore who was first assistant and then manager of the Potomac Company. *Ibid.*, II, 391; III, 75, 85.

anough to Meet with Mr Stanhope at Mr Wheelers [41] on Sunday and he Informed me of it and Where they ware To meet I Sett out on monday and met them, all Armed, within a mile of the falls. I beged them to Stop, Expostulated withem for Sum time, and gave them Every ashoreance in my power that if they would Stop I would take the Officer alone and Bring any men they would name they at first agreed to it But soon Changed their minds and the most of them moved anagain I Beged them to Listen to me once more Expressed by Desire to Convince them that the men were Under good Discipline and at Lenth By the Exertions of Mr Stanhope & Mr Gunnel I Carryed my point So far that they the Justices and the Officers was to go with me to the works while the Rest was to go to the Buildings where I was to perade the Hole of the men, I had preveious to my Seting out Let the men know that an Officer was to be with them that Day to take a number of them, and I Charged them to Behave well— when we Came on the works, they accordingly Did, I ordered them all to the House and made them form in a Line until the Officer Called out what he wanted, all this was Dune without a murmur, the number taken was About Sixteen they ware then Caryed of off and puy Upon tryal which I attended and Mr Stuart Returned before it was Over, The Hole of Mr Jasksons afair amounted to this, that his Son was In Company with a number of them at a Mr Canns that they threatened Sum bodey Very hard that he believed It to be him, that he Borrowed a horse and rode home for his gun and Returned Shortly with it and presented it and Swore that he would kill The first man that ofended him, on which they [ ]ok after him, and Doged him Sum time, and finally [ ]t he made his Escape, the men was Sentenced to have Sum Lashes, But Mr Stanhope, Coleman, and Gunnel, prevailed with Mr Jackson after the Judgment was passed to Remit the Hole punnishment which he Did with a great Deal of Reluctance There was tow Servants got five Lases apeace for Sum offence to a woman that Lives at Mrs Bauguses (I Shall Endeavor, and

[41] Mr. Wheeler lived about one and a half miles from Great Falls where Washington onced lodged. *Ibid.*, III, 10, 424.

I made no Doubt But the men Can Be kept in good order I am Sir With Sincere Regard your most Ob[t] and Very Hb[l] Serv[t].

James Rumsey

His Excellencey George Washington Esq[r]
Mount Vernon
Handed by M[r] Brindley

To George Washington [42]

Alexandria Sept[r] 5th 1786

D[r] General

I was Very Sorry to hear that it was Sickness prevented you from Coming to The meeting at Senaca,[43] Governor Johnson [44] and Lee [45] was also Sick and Could not attend therefore Their

[42] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[43] Seneca Falls is in Maryland near the Great Falls of the Potomac. *of Washington*, II, 394, 395, 398, 402, 403; III, 83, 265, 360. *Cram's Modern Reference Atlas of the World*, 105; Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries*

[44] Thomas Johnson (Nov. 4, 1732-Oct. 25, 1819) was a lawyer, legislator, and statesman. He was a member of the Continental Congress, 1775, 1776, 1777, and 1780; elected brigadier-general of the militia in Maryland, January 5, 1776; led and organized soldiers in the Revolution; selected governor of Maryland, 1777, 1778, and 1779; member of the legislature, 1781; was influential in getting Maryland to ratify the Articles of Confederation; member of Continental Congress, 1781-87; member of the convention that ratified the Federal Constitution: and judge of the district court in Maryland; He was chief justice of the general court of Maryland in 1790; associate justice of the United States Supreme Court in 1791; declined to become chief justice and resigned in 1793; declined to become Secretary of State on August 24, 1795; was one of the three commissioners to lay out the City of Washington; became interested with Washington in 1774 in the improvement of the Potomac; and influenced Maryland while Washington influenced Virginia to charter the Potomac Company. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 450-51.

[45] Thomas Sim Lee (Oct. 29, 1745-Nov. 9, 1819) was a soldier and a statesman. He took part in the Revolution; was helpful raising troops for Washington; served in the provincial council of Maryland, 1777; elected governor, 1779 and 1792; served as member of the Continental Congress, 1783; was a member of the Maryland convention that ratified the Federal Constitution; opened a home in Georgetown for his federalist friends; refused to become a Senator in 1794; would not accept the

was no Board, It would Oblige me much if the next meeting was to be at the Great falls as their is Several persons whose presence will Be Necessary that Objects to going Over to the maryland Side on account of the Bad attention to that ferry, and Dearness of it, I am Convinced that the Maryland gentlemen would wish to See the works at the great falls, and therefore think that they will have no Objection to meeting their—

Inclosed is an account of the Expense of your Buildings at Bath It amounts to a Considerable Sum higher than I Expected the ac^{t} is Stated in penns Currency,[46] the Stone work of the Celler is Extended at an astablished price that I had from Every person that I had work of that kind Done for when I found Every thing. The underpinning the kitchen and kitchen Chimney I Estamated at ten pounds ten Shillings a particular account of it Being Neglected, But I believe it to Be Set Loe, The nails, Glass, Locks and hinges are high, But they are at the price that we was Obliged to give at Bath for them, I am not Quite Sure As to the amount of the money I have Received of you But I think it is as follows,—Viz—

Paid to M^{r} Herbert.....	£40..0..0
my first Devidend to potomack C^{o}.....	3..6..8
Received for rent of houses.....	9..0..0
paid me at your house.....	20..0..0
	£72..6..8

I am not Very Clear but the money I got at your house was twenty five pounds, but I gave a Receipt for it which will Shew the am^{t}— the Boat will be tryed this week on the Oreginal

governorship in 1798; and kept 200 slaves at "Needwood," a tract of 1500 acres in Maryland, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 132.

[46] English money was little used in the colonies. The Spanish piece of eight was the most common coin in America, but it was not a fixed piece measured in English money. One of the charges made against the chartered colonies was that they raised and lowered the coins. In 1700 William Penn said that the Spanish piece of eight varied in value from 4s 6d in Maryland to 7s 8d in Pennsylvania. Evarts Boutwell Greene, *Provincial America*, 39-40.

plann you Shall Immediately Hear what Success [47]— I am with Every Sentement of Regard your most ob[t][ ] Very hbl. Serv[t]

——— James Rumsey

To George Washington [48]

[Enclosed in; 1786, Sep. 5. Rumsey to Washington]
[Placed in Washington Papers under 1785, Jan. 5]

James Rumsey to Thomas Beard [49]— D[r]

Jan[y] 5th 1785, To the Carpenters work of one Logg House for His Excellency Gena[l] Washington	12.. 0..0
To Laying 6 Square & 46 feet a flooring in D[o] at 10 S— per Square	3.. 4..6
To making & Caseing 3 Doors for two houses	1..10..0
To Caseing two windows & making Shutters for D[o]	1.. 5..0
To 2 pair of Steps and Shelves for D[o]	1.. 0..0
	£18..19..6

Received the Contents of the above account of James Rumsey— Tho[s] Beard Test— Mordecai *Throckmorton* [50]

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[47] On January 31, 1786, Washington wrote Rumsey that he should make a trial of his boat as soon as possible, for delay only created distrust, and that some one to whom he had communicated some of its mechanism might construct one. He said that one man had already applied to him for a certificate regarding a steamboat, contending that it was different from Rumsey's, but he had refused to comply with the request. Washington sent him a magazine; requested him to read an article in it relative to the cost of constructing a certain canal in Scotland; and then returned it to Thomas Johnson. Jared Sparks, *The Writings of George Washington*, XII, 279; Washington Papers, Library of Congress, January 31, 1786.

[48] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[49] It is all in the handwriting of Rumsey except the two signatures.

[50] Mordecai Throckmorton tried to procure Washington's Collet's lots, but upon his return from the army Washington stopped the deal which was in progress. He kept his land rented to small landless tenants, and refused to lease his land to large landholders adjoining his plantations. Washington to Dolphin Drew, Feb. 25, 1784, Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

To George Washington [51]

His Excellency George Washington Esq^{r} to J. L. Rumsey [52] D^{r}

June— 1785—To 19 days Labour Diging Celler (all Stone) at 3S	2..17..0
To 33 & 2/3 perches of Stone work in Celler wall at 10S	16..16..8
To 8 Days work of Mason Chinking & plastering tow houses at 7S 6	3.. 0..0
To 8 Days of Labourer to tend mason at D^{o} at 3S	1.. 4..0
To 12 B^{s} of Lime at 1S	12..0
To 2 Days hire of Cart, to hall Lime Earth Stone &c. at 10S	1.. 0..0
To Cash paid W^{m} Weathers for 93 Loggs & Joist at 1S	4..13..0
To Cash paid for Shingle Timber 15S	15..0
To Cash paid Thomas Beard as per Bill & Recp^{t}	18..19..6
To 1700 feet of Inch Boards at 10S	8..10..0
To 350 feet of half Inch D^{o} at 8S 4	1.. 9..2

[51] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[52] James Rumsey was employed by Washington to erect his buildings at Bath. The large house was to be thirty-six by twenty-four feet, with a seven feet double gallery on each side, extending the full length of the building. The celler was to be half the size of the house and walled with stone while the other part of the house was to be underpinned with stone. One room on the first floor was to be twenty-four by twenty feet with a chimney in the center of one end. The other two rooms on the first floor were to be sixteen by twelve feet with a chimney in the corner of each. Each of the two large rooms upstairs was to have a fireplace. The stairway was to lead up from the galley below to the galley above. The kitchen was to be a separate building, twenty-two by eighteen feet, with a good floor above and a chimney. The stable was to be eighteen by twenty-two feet and sunk in the ground so that the floor above it on the north side would be level with the yard. It was to be divided into two rooms; one for carriage, harness and the like; and the other for hay or grain. All three of the buildings were to be shingled. Fitzpatrick, *The Diaries of Washington*, II, 283-4.

To under pining kitchen & Building Chimney	10..10..0
To Carpenter for Building D°	12.. 0..0
To Janir for Laying kitchen floor	1..12..3
To 300 feet of Laths at 8S 4	1.. 5..0
To 312 feet of Scantling for Rafters & Studs at 12S 6	1..19..0
To 24 Lights of Sash at 7d	14..0
To 24 pains of Glass at 1S	1.. 4..0
To painting & Glazeing D° at 5^{d}	10..0
To 4800 Nails at 15S	3..12..0
To 5 pair FL hinges at 4S 6	1.. 2..6
To 3 Locks at 5S	15..0
To 4 Days of waggon halling Loggs Shingles &c at 15S	3.. 0..0
To 2 Labourers 4 Days to assist halling Loggs at 3S	1.. 4..0
To 7 weeks Board of Labourers at 10S	3..10..0
To Rack and manger for Stable	1..15..0
	£104.. 9..1

(*To be continued*)

A NEW MAP OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND IN NORTH AMERICA.

By J. Louis Kuethe,
The Johns Hopkins University Library.

According to the Map Division of the Library of Congress, the undated map titled " A New Map of the Province of Maryland in North America " was originally published in *The Universal Magazine,* Vol. 66, 1780, facing page 57, scale—one inch to 18 miles. This map has many points of interest on it, interesting by virtue of the fact that they are not in agreement

with its date. Instead of being a "New Map" it is probably a composite picture of several earlier ones and while the information may have been up to date when first published, many changes had occurred by the year 1780.

On this "New Map" the present Baltimore is shown as "New Town"; while the name "Baltimore" is shown on Bush River. Baltimore on the Bush River was virtually non-existent by 1729, the year the present Baltimore was erected. In 1712 the court was moved from the Bush river town to Joppa, so "Old Baltimore" could not have been worthy of notice even at that early date.

Cumberland is indicated as "Fort and Ohio Comp." The Ohio company, chartered in 1749, really did no business after 1760, and by 1769 ceased to exist. The name "Cumberland," while not shown on the "New Map," was first attached to this place with the erection of Fort Cumberland in the winter of 1754-55. This fort was abandoned in 1765 and the present town laid out in 1785.

The Circle of Newcastle, which was a fact by 1700, is indicated as a curve, but hardly in a form worthy of the name of a circle and the symbol for the town of Newcastle appears to be very nearly on the northernmost part of the curve instead of at its center.

The North-South boundary between Maryland and Delaware (surveyed in 1764), runs slightly to the east of North on this "New Map" instead of to the west of North, while the southern boundary of Delaware is north of the Indian River, terminating at Lewes. The Mason and Dixon line, instead of following a true East-West line, runs to the north of West. This line was completed in 1767.

Lord Fairfax's boundary line between the heads of the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers is indicated on this map, one of the few to show this line.

The Little Choptank River is called "Hudson's River," an error which probably dates back to Augustine Herrman's map of 1673. On Herrman's map the name "Little Choptank" appears out in the bay while conspicuous in the river proper is

the name "Hudson." (Still in existence as the name of a creek in the Little Choptank.) Many maps which follow Herrman indicate the Little Choptank as "Hudson's River." This error occurs as late as the Colton maps of the 1850's, but is corrected on Martenet's map of 1866. Even the splendid Griffith map of 1794 makes this mistake.

The counties shown on this "New Map" are very misleading. Only six are shown: Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Charles, St. Mary's, Talbot, and Dorchester. Dorchester County includes all of present Dorchester, Somerset, Wicomoco, and Worchester Counties although Somerset was erected in 1666 and Worchester in 1742. Talbot County seems to include both Talbot and Queen Anne's even though Queen Anne's County was erected in 1706. Charles County is indicated in approximately the position of Prince George's County while St. Mary's County covers the section included in both Charles and St. Mary's Counties.

Taken as a whole the information given on this "New Map" of 1780 can only be accepted when corroborated by a more reliable source.

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1683.

Contributed by Louis Dow Scisco.

The land records of the year afford no clear evidence of local progress. The contemporaneous court record, however, reveals that cross-country highways were being created, ferry service on the three rivers was in prospect, and inns for travelers were in operation at Gunpowder and Bush Rivers.

The summary here following covers pages 24 to 62 of the record liber R M No. H S, which carry transcribed records from an older book called E No. 1, no longer extant.

Deed, December 29, 1682, Thomas Taylor, esq., of Anne Arundel County, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Anthony Demondidier, gentleman, for 95 years, the 300-acre tract "Timber Neck" at George's Pond on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining to Lewis Bryen's tract "The Hope," grantee to pay annually, if demanded, one grain of Indian corn; said land, formerly held by Richard Ball, and now held by Demondidier, is Taylor's property by Provincial Court judgment of June 14, 1678. No witnesses recorded. Mr. Nathaniell Smith, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, acknowledges in court of March 6, 1682-83, as Col. Thomas Taylor's attorney. Clerk Thomas Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, December 30, 1682, Thomas Taylor, merchant, appointing Nathaniell Smith, gentleman, his attorney to acknowledge transfer of 300 acres to Anthony Demondidier, gentleman. Witnesses, Jarvis Winterton, James Elphingstone.

Deed, March 6, 1682-83, James Mills, merchant, executor of estate of Capt. Samuell Boston, deceased, conveying to James Phillips, innholder, the 200-acre tract "William'ces Ridge" at head of Bow Creek, as mortgaged to Boston by Loudwick Williams, planter, late of Baltimore County. Signed by John Hathaway. No witnesses recorded.

Bond, March 6, 1682-83, James Mills, merchant, obligating himself to James Phillips, innholder, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco, as security for covenants made concerning 200 acres. Signed by John Hathaway. Witnesses, Miles Gibson, and Clerk Thomas Hedge.

Letter of attorney, February 13, 1682-83, James Mills appointing Mr. John Hathaway his attorney to acknowledge sale of 200 acres to James Phillips. No witnesses recorded. Hathaway, as attorney, acknowledges conveyance on March 6 before Maj. Thomas Long and Mr. Edward Beadle, commissioners. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, March 6, 1682-83, Thomas Hedge, gentleman, conveying to Roger Mathews the 100-acre tract "Miles End," on east side of the northernmost branch of Rumley Creek, adjoining to Olliver Spry's land, as bought by grantor from Miles Gibson. Witnesses, Cristopher Johnson, Humphry Jones. Grantor acknowledges at March 6 court before George Wells and Thomas Long, commissioners. Receipt, November, 1683, stating that Sheriff Miles Gibson receives from Mathews 24 pounds of tobacco for alienation.

Bond, March 6, 1682-83, Thomas Hedge, gentleman, obligating himself to Roger Mathews, planter, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Christopher Johnson, Humphry Jones.

Deed, March 6, 1682-83, Robert Benger, shoemaker, and wife Katharine conveying to Daniell Scott, planter, of Anne Arundel County, two adjoining tracts, first, the 150-acre tract "Ollivers Reserve" on the middle branch of Gunpowder River, opposite Capt. Cornwallis's land, and second, the 30-acre tract "Jumfers (*sic*) kindness," at Middle River Cove, adjoining to John Chadwell's tract "Chadwells outlett." No witnesses recorded. Wife Katharine consents before George Wells, commissioner.

Bond, March 6, 1682-83, Robert Benger, shoemaker, obligating himself to Daniell Scott of Anne Arundel County for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security that tracts "Ollivers Reserve" and "Jumfers Kindness," sold to Scott, be made clear of all claims except proprietary rents. No witnesses recorded.

Personal letter, October 31, 1682, Daniell Scott requesting of Mr. Hedge that he draw a land conveyance by Robert Benger's instructions and receive title in court on Scott's behalf, collecting his fees from Benger.

Deed, February 6, 1682-83, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, for 3,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to George Hope, planter, of same county, the 250-acre tract "Denchworth" at Curtis Creek on south side of Patapsco River, bounding on Shore Branch and Spring Branch, and adjoining to land formerly held by Quinton Barker and now held by William Slade, said tract patented July 18, 1679, to Yate. Witnesses, Thomas Bland, Henry Hanslop. Yate acknowledges and wife Mary consents before Thomas Taylor, esq., and William Burgess, esq., Provincial Court justices.

Bond, February 6, 1682-83, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to George Hope, planter, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, William Burgess, Thomas Bland, Henry Hanslop.

Deed, January 10, 1681-82, Robert Lockwood, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for £11 sterling, conveying to Ralph Cooper, mariner, of Stepbunheath, Middlesex, Eng., the 400-acre tract "Lockwoods Adventure," on the east side of Galloway's (or Calloway's) Branch on south side of Patapsco River and adjoining to Anthony Holland's land, as patented May 8, 1679, to grantor; Lockwood also naming Francis Watkins and John Cromwell his attorneys to give seizin. Witnesses, Nicholas Gassoway, Thomas Grasson, Henry Hansley. Grantor acknowledges and wife (not named) consents April 1 before Thomas Taylor, esq., and George Wells. Appended form for seizin certificate is blank.

Bond, January 10, 1680 (*sic*), Robert Lockwood, planter, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to Ralph Cooper, mariner, for £80 sterling as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Nicholas Gassoway, Thomas Besson, Henry Hanslop.

Deed, April 27, 1683, John Bird, planter, and wife Elizabeth, of Back River, for 3,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Benjamin Bennett, planter, of Gunpowder River, 50 acres on the north side of Elk Creek, on east side of Gunpowder River, adjoining to land lately taken up by Thomas Preston, to land formerly laid out for Edward Reeves and Lodwick Williams, and to land formerly laid out for John Collet, said tract being deeded to Bird August 2, 1681, by Michael Judd and wife Jane of Gunpowder River. No witnesses recorded. Grantors acknowledge before Thomas Long and John Boreing.

Deed, June 6, 1683, Henry Lawrance, planter, for 1,850 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Cornelius Boyce, planter, 65 acres at Elk Creek and near head of a creek running into Bush River, bounding at the road side

and adjoining to land of John Collett and land formerly laid out for John Vaughan. Elizabeth Lawrance signs with grantor. Witnesses Thomas Jones, John Tilliard. Grantor acknowledges in court and wife Elizabeth consents before Maj. Thomas Long, commissioner. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, June 5, 1683, Henry Lawrance, planter, obligating himself to Cornelius Boyce, cooper, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, as security that Lawrance and wife Elizabeth will perform their covenants concerning 65 acres sold. Witnesses, Thomas Jones, John Tilliard. Lawrance and wife acknowledge in June 5 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Letter of attorney, April 4, 1683, Robert Jones, planter, appointing Mr. Edward Beadle his attorney to collect debts owed to Jones and also acknowledge sale to Mr. John Yoe of two tracts at Gunpowder River. Witnesses, Simon Dawkins, James Cozens, John Yeo. Mr. Edward Bedell at June 5 court acknowledges attorneyship. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, November 7, 1682, Richard Sims, planter, of Gunpowder River, conveying to Lawrance Richardson, planter, the 100-acre tract "Love point" on the north side of the western branch of Gunpowder River, as patented July 20, 1673, to Sims. Witnesses, Mark Richardson, Thomas Richardson. Grantor acknowledges at court of June 5, 1683. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, November 7, 1682, Richard Sims, planter, obligating himself to Lawrance Richardson, planter, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants concerning 100 acres sold and for acknowledgment. Witnesses, Mark Richardson, Thomas Richardson. Sims acknowledges at June 5 court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, April 4, 1683, Robert Jones, senior, planter, for 5,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Yoe, gentleman, two parcels on the north side of Gunpowder River, first, the 200-acre tract "Yorks hope," at Seredick Creek in a deep bay by a great marsh, and second, the 73-acre tract "Jones Addition," by a great marsh, grantor having acquired them as heir of Thomas Jones, deceased, late of Gunpowder River. Witnesses, Edward Beadle, James Cozens, Simon Dawkins. Beadle as Jones's attorney acknowledges at June 5 court to Mr. Peter Ellis who appears for Yoe. Clerk Hedge attests. Receipt, April 26, 1683, Sheriff Miles Gibson having received 42 pounds of tobacco from Mr. John Yoe for alienation. Letter, June 5, 1683, John Yoe authorizing Maj. Peter Ellis to receive transfer in court from Jones's attorney Mr. Edward Beadle.

Deed, June 5, 1683, Abraham Hollman, planter, of Bush River, son of Abraham Holdman, deceased, conveying to James Collier the 150-acre tract "Hausing North" at Hunting Creek, about five miles up Bush River, on the east side, and adjoining to Thomas Sampson's land, it being patented February 15, 1659-60, to Hollman. Witnesses, John Hall, John Lawe, Edward Reeves. Grantor acknowledges in court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, June 5, 1683, Abraham Hollman, planter, obligating himself to James Collier for 20,000 pounds of tobacco, as security for performance of covenants concerning 150 acres sold. Witnesses, John Hall, John Lawe, Edward Reeves. Hollman acknowledges in court. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, August 6, 1683, Richard Adams, planter, and wife Catherine, of Cecil County, conveying to Edward Reeves, planter, the 100-acre tract "Phills Choyce" at a neck in Bush River, the tract including 50 acres formerly deeded by Adams and wife November 7, 1671, to Henrietta Robinson, relict of William Robinson, copartner with Adams in the 100 acres, and now the wife of Reeves. Witnesses, James Thompson, Michael Skidmore. Grantors acknowledge before Col. George Wells and Capt. Henry Johnson, justices. Clerk Hedge attests. Wife Catherine consents before Johnson.

Deed of gift, October 10, 1683, George Skipwith and wife Elizabeth of Anne Arundel County, "for the duty we do bear and for divers other considerations," conveying to Thomas Thurstone the land and plantation and all things formerly belonging to him which he conveyed October 27, 1676, to his daughter Elizabeth, wife of Skipwith, grantors giving possession by a silver sixpence on the seal. Witnesses, Christopher Higges, Nicholas Northouer, John Edmonston, Ephraim Lee, Robert Brassington, Charles Gorsuch, William Berry.

Letter of attorney, October 10, 1683, George Skipwith and Elizabeth Skipwith appointing Clerk Thomas Hedge their attorney to convey to Thomas Thurstone as in their deed of gift of same date. Witnesses, Christopher Higges, Robert Brassington, Nicholas Northouer, Charles Gorsuch, John Edmondson, William Berry, Ephraim Lee. Appendant minute November 21, that Ephraim Lee testifies before George Wells, Edward Bedell, John Boring, commissioners, that he saw the deed executed by Skipwith and wife. Clerk Hedge as grantors' attorney acknowledges the deed before Wells, Bedell, and Boring.

Receipt, January 14, 1680-81, James Thompson, smith (*sic*), stating that he has received from Michael Judd 164 pounds of tobacco in payment of two years' rent of the 300-acre tract "Collets Neglect" and the 180-acre tract "Norberry," and also 120 pounds of tobacco for alienation of "Collets Neglect."

Survey certificate, December 15, 1683, Thomas Lightfoot, deputy surveyor, stating that he has laid out for Richard Perkins, cooper, the 100-acre tract "Perkinson" at the head of Musketa Creek, bounded by the tracts "The Grove," "Mascalls Humer," and "Bever Neck," to be held as of the manor of Baltimore. Copy certified by Deputy Clerk John Yeo.

In the liber of court proceedings one more conveyance item is recorded for this year.

Clerk's minute, September 4, 1683, that William Osborne in open court acknowledges conveyance of the "court house land" to the commissioners of the county and gives possession by turf and twig.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXI, 4, page 332.)

P. S. I Have Drawn on Mess^{rs} John Steuart and Company a Set of Bills Payable to M^{r} Charles Christie or order for forty seven Pounds Eleven Shillings and Eleven Pence Dated the 9th March 1757 The Effects that I Have Shipped Him By Accident may not Come to Hand or may fetch under Calculation so that he may Hesitate to Pay them Please if He should to Pay the same for my Honour

Yours &c.

C. C.

To M^{r} William Anderson
Merchant in London

678617

Gent/

Yours of the 19th of November last I received and am Glad to Hear of the arrival of your Ship the Grey hound and Hope Captain Dyer by whom I shipped you Twenty five Tons of Pigg Has met with the same Good fortune. I Have of this Date Drawn on you for forty seven Pounds Eleven Shillings and Eleven Pence Payable to M^{r} Charles Christie which Please to Pay and Charge to my account I Hope I shall after the Payment thereof and my other orders have a Ballance Remaining in your Hands which shall be Glad to Enlarge if you'l Give orders to your Captains to Take in Pigg Iron for me

But if by any Accident you should be in advance for me any small matter shall willingly allow you Interest till you are Reembursed which will be always by the next Shipping

I am Gentlemen your most Humble Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis March 9th 1757
To Messrs John Stewart and Co
Merchants in London
pr Birstall & Fanning & Hamilton

Sir

You shal Have the Houses you now Live in with the Lotts Belonging to Mr Robert Alexanders for two Hundred and Ninety Pounds Current Money to Be Paid as you yesterday Proposed in the neat full with Intst of six pr Ct thereon from the Time you went into them & if I mistake not was on the 13 July Last This is Thirty Pounds Less Then my Father offered them for to Thornton Please to Let me Have a Memd from you of the Time you went into them

I am Sir

Yrs &c

C. C.

May 15. 1757
To Mr Danl Wolstenholme

Gent

I shall Ship you in your Ship the Sally Charles Courtney Master thirty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron as it will I suppose Clear me six Pounds ℔ Ton. I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship that In Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions one Hundred and Eighty Pounds Sterling and the Charges of such Insurance Place to my Account.

I am Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Maryland
Annapolis July 2d 1757

To Messrs Gale and Pensonby
Merchants in White Haven

p[r] Carling & Post to New York July 4[th]
℔ Gilpin Sent July 22[d] ℔ Cooledge Aug[st] and Capt.
Johnson in the Ship Sally Brown
℔ Captain Barnes to Liverpool

Gent

There will be shipped you in the oxford Captain Barnes on Account of Charles Carroll Esq[r] and Company in the Baltimore Iron Works twenty five Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron. I Desire you will make Insurance in the said Companys Name that in Case of Loss they may Draw Clear of all Charges the sum of one hundred and twenty five Pounds Sterling And the Charges of such Insurance Place to the Account of the said Gentleman and Company

I am for them and self
Gent y[r] Most H[ble] Servant
C. C.

Annapolis, Maryland July 2[d] 1757
To Mess[rs] John Hanmore and
Lawrence Spencer Merch[ts] in
Liverpool ℔ Carling & Post to N Y July 4[th] ℔ Johnson
July 22[d] ℔ Cap[t] John Johnson in the Ship
Sally Brown ℔ Capt Coolidge

Gent/

I shall ship you in the Tryall Snow Belonging to you now lying in Patapsco River. Mills Master Ten Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron and Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Vessel that In Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Charges the sum of Sixty Pounds Sterling. The Charges of such Insurance Please to Place to the Account of

Gent your most Humble Servant
C. C.

Annapolis Maryland July 12[th] 1757

To Mess^{rs} John Steuart & Company
Merchants in London. ℔ Johnson to London July 22^{d} Gilpin to white haven Sent Per Cap^{t} John Johnson in the Ship Sally Brown August 1st & per Capt. Cooledge

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Sir

Inclosed I send you Bill Lading for fifty Tons of Pigg which Hope will Clear me as I before wrote you six pounds ℔ Ton I send you also a Certificate of its being Plantation made Please by the first of your ships or any ship Coming Convenient to Annapolis to send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice at the Lowest Insurance and best of the Sorts as they are for my Family use

I Hope you receive mine of the 4th of February 1757 Covering Edm^{d} Pendletons Bill on Mess^{rs} Flowerdue and Company for Sixty two Pounds Eleven Shillings and that the Bill has met with Honour. Please if not, to let me Know by the first opportunity.

I have Drawn on you of this Date at sixty Days sight the three following Bills to John Raitt for Eleven Pounds to Henry Griffith for fifty Pounds and to M^{rs} Ann Carroll for twenty Pounds By w^{ch} time I Hope the Iron will be sold and your Cash in Hand. Must Desire you will with the Goods before mention^{d} Send me in those in the Invoice marked B^{x}C Being for my Proportion of the Baltimore Companys Supplys

I am with h^{ble} & sincere wishes for y^{r}self and Family

D^{r} Sir

Your most H^{ble} Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Sept^{r} 1st 1757
To M^{r} W^{m} Anderson Merchant in London
℔^{r} Capt. Strachan ℔ Cap^{t} Coats p^{r} Cap^{t} French

Gent/

I send you Inclosed a Certificate of the twenty five Tons of Pigg Iron Shipped in Captain Barnes on Account of the Baltimore Company Being Plantation made in order to recover the Duty thereon. Captain Barry Has a Bill of Lading. I have Drawn on you Dated the 26th of August 1757 for sixty seven Pounds five Shillings and Ten pence at sixty days sight on account of Chas Carroll Esqr and Company in Baltimore Iron Works it was on Account of salt Purchased of him I suppose on yr Accounts & I Hope the Iron will be sold by that time and Cash in hand if not you will be safe in Honouring the Bills

I am Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis in Maryland August 31st 1757
To Messrs John Hanmore and Lawrence
Spenser Merchts in Liverpool ℔ Capt Barnes in Iron Oxford

℔ Capt Machen via London
& pr Capt Coats ℔ Few ℔
Captain French

Gent/

I was in Hopes this year of having an opportunity of shipping you in one of your ships, Pigg Iron to have Discharged the Ballance Due from me to you But was Disappointed. As Mr Woolstenholme took Pig for the Messrs Dulanys in one and Col Tasker in the other (and none of the Captains in the Trade will Take in Iron unless Consigned to their owners) which Prevented my sending to you by any other Channel Hope as I was Disappointed in paying of what was Due to you by the Consignment of my Ship and Cargo that you will give your Captains orders to take in what I have to ship that I may that way Clear myself as it is next to Impossibility to Get Bills, and your manager Here Inclines to prefer others to me

I assure you I am with the sincerest wishes for your welfare
Your most obedient Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis in Maryland August 31st 1757
To John Hanbury Esqr and Company
Merchants in London ℔ Capt. Strachan & Coats & French

Sir

I received safe the Goods shipped in the Betsy Captain White and Have Credited your account therewith if there is any want of Pigg Iron to make up the full weight of the whole Quantity Shipped on Board Noel, I am Certain it must be a Deficiency in that Shipped from New York as we allow at our Furnace a Quarter a Hundred in Every Ton over Weight that it may not fall short when it Arrives

The Iron Shipped from our Furnace is all marked with the word Baltimore so that it is Easily Distinguished from any other and I Hope had my full Quantity

You were Credited with the Goods shipped in Slade But as I had appropriated the Produce of the Iron Shipped in Noel as I before wrote you to the Payment of Mr James Maccubbin on Account of a Bill of myne Sent by Him to you and Returned under Protest, An Alteration to make a Payment on another Account may Prove some Disappointment to Him if you will Give your Captains orders to Take in Pigg Iron for me I will ship you what will Pay of the Ballance Due to you and Turn it in my Favour

I Believe there is no Tradesman but what would be Glad to sell Goods at a Twelve month or year and Half Pay so that I think any Expectation of Interest before the Expiration of that Time not Quite reasonable I assure you I sincerely wish well to your Interest and that nothing shall be wanting in my Power to promote it

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis in Maryland Augst 31st 1757
To Mr William Perkins
Merchant in London Capt. Strachan & Coats & French

Gent

Tho. I Have Been for some time in want of the Goods I wrote for to you for my Family use I have not as yet Been so fortunate as to Have received them which is no small Disappointment to me, as I shall not have time to make up the Winters Cloathing for my Servants before the Cold weather sets in. I Flatter myself that they will not Come in at any Greater Expence of Insurance to me than if they had Come by the fleet, if they Do I think I shall have Great Reason to Complain

I am sorry to Here of the Loss of Dyer, Hope that the Insurance is Recovered on Him

I send you Bill of Loading for one Hh^{d} of Tobacco Should have shipped you two or three more but your Captain Could not Take them in

I send you also Bill of Loading for Ten Tons of Pigg Iron and a Certificate of its being Plantation made Hope this Comidity Rises in Price if it Dos not it will be Hardly worth Shipping Considering the Great Expence on its . . .

I have of this Date Drawn on you Payable to Capt Alexander Steuart for Eleven Pounds which Please to pay and Charge to my Account

If the Goods I wrote for last year for the Baltimore Company should be Taken, I Desire you would not Reship them as I Can Do without them

I am Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis September 15th 1757
To Mess^{rs} John Steuart and Company
Merchants in London—

P. S. I Desire you would send me one pair of Good Cologn Mill Stones four Foot Diameter and at Least Twenty Inches Deep through the Eyes which I suppose is the Common thickness with the Eyes Right in the Center, without any Flaw or Cracke

N. B: I want no Iron work with them yours at Sup^{t}

C. C.

p^{r} Cap^{t} French Bell & Few

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^r^ William Anderson Merch^t^ In London Dated the 31^st^ August 1757 viz—

500 Ells osnabrigs @ 7½
3 pces Hessens 8
3 pces. Irish Linen 1/2
2 pces. Ditto 1/6
1 pce. Ditto 2/
1 pce. Ditto 2/6
4 pces. Chex /10^d^
2 pces. Ditto 1^s^/
2 pces. Ditto 1/4^d^
1 pce Instin 1 pce Lawn (very fine)
2 pces good Chints
1 Large Diaper Table Cloth
1 Midling Ditto
2 Smaller Ditto
2 pces Ribbon 7^d^ 2 pces Ditto 8^d^ 2 pces Ditto 10^d^ ℔ y^d^
2 pces silk Romalls
2 pces. Cotton Ditto
½℔ Sewing silk various Colours
1 pce sheeting
1 pce. Bed ticking
1 pce India Dimothy
1 pce Muslin
2 pces Welch Cotton 1/2
3 pces Kendal Ditto 1/
2 pces Pennistone 1/2^d^
1 pce Fearnought
1 pce Broad Cloth & Trimmings
1 pce Devonshire Kersey
1 pce German Serge
2 pces Shalloon Buttons & Mohair to match Kersey & Serge
1 pce Ditto Matched Broad Cloth
2 pces Striped Flannel
1 pce Flowered Ditto

1 pce Matchcoat Blankets
1 Doz. Strong Padlocks
2 S bitted large Stock Locks
2 Ditto smaller Ditto
2 Doz. smiths files sorted
6 Farriers Rasps
1 Faggot best English Steel
100lb blistered Ditto
20 m ten penny nails
1 Doz. hair Sieves
6 Scrubbing Brushes
6 Shoe Brushes
6 Hair Brooms
6 Loaves single refined sugar
20lb pepper 20lb Brimstone 6lb saltre
12lb brown thread, 2lb W. B Ditto, 2lb fine W. B. Ditto
2 Reams best Writing paper, 1 Barrow's Euclids Elements
1 Brass Dividers 7 Inches long with steel points
1 Dozen Grinstones ½ Gross scythe stones
Invoice of Goods For myself viz—
Hatts 2 Dozen Mery Felts
4 Pieces osnabrigs about 6d½ & 7d ℔ Ell
2 Pieces Grey Fearnought
4 Pieces Welch Cotton
6 Loaves single and 6 Double refined sugar
2 Pieces Blue Half thick
2 Dozen Single and 1 Doz. Double Worsted Caps
1 Dozen of Course Blue Worsted or Yarn Hose for Servant Women at about 9/ or 10/ ℔ Dozen
1 piece Matchcoat Blankets
2 pieces Irish Linen @ 1/2d
2 pieces Chex @ 10d
4lb Brown oza thread
1lb of Green thread 6 sticks Red Mohair
1 Gross Brass waistcoat Buttons with Good Strong Shanks
1 Gross of the best Velvet Quarte Bottle Corks
1 Pound Best Jesuits Bark Powder'd
1 Dove Tail Saw one Terrant Do

Gent/

Inclosed I send you a Bill of Loading for Thirty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron and a Certificate of it being Plantation made I Hope it will not Clear me Less than six pounds ℔ Ton if it Does shall Hardly be Tempted to Try again your way.

I have Drawn on you at sixty days sight Payable to M^{r} Launcelot Jacques for one Hundred and forty Five Pounds and Hope before that Time you will Have sold the Iron and Have the Cash in Hand the Residue of what the Iron Clears shall Leave in your Hands till Have occasion for an application Shall be obliged by a Line from you by the first opportunity and Please to let me Know what Goods Come best and Cheapest from your Part.

I am Gentlemen y^{r} most Humble Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Sept^{r} 1st 1757
To Mess^{rs} Gale and Personby
Merchants in White haven
℔ Cap^{t} Strachan ℔ Cap^{t} Courtney Given to M^{r} Veach of Oxford & Coats via London.

Gent/

I Calculate their will be Remaining in the Hands after Paym^{t} of the Bill to Capt. Barnes fifty or Sixty Pounds I Desire you will send the Comp^{a} By the first of y^{r} Ships Coming Here the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice & make Insurance on the same in the Name of C. Carroll Esq^{r} & Comp^{a} in Iron Works that In Case of Loss they may Recover the Cost of the Goods and all Charges

I am y^{r}self & C^{o}

Gent Y^{r} mo. H^{ble} Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Sept. 17. 1757

To Messrs. Hanmore & Spencer
Mercht^{s} in Liverpool

℔ Capt. Strachan & Capt. Courtney
Given to M^{r} Veach of Oxford &
Courts vie London

Gent/

As from your Delay to send me in proper time the Goods wrote for to you Both on my own and those wrote for my Account for the Baltimore Company, I have been obliged to supply myself with them at an Extravagant advance here in the Country I must Desire that if you have by any of your Latter ships sent the said Goods (or if you Intend to send them) that you will acquaint M^{r} William Anderson therewith

As it may Prevent his sending me some Goods I have wrote for to him which I shall not want if I have the Goods wrote for from you

Please to let him Know whether you have sent the Goods for my account Marked X^{B} which were for my Proportion of supply for the Baltimore Company and Whether you have sent the Glass Nails Locks Hinges &c which I shall absolutely want & have not mentioned in my Invoice to him with the other things wrote for, for my own use or Whether you Intend to send them This I Desire as it may Prevent my having more Goods sent me than I shall want for the Consumption of the Current Year and thereby save me the Exorbitant Expence of the Present Insurance I have wrote to M^{r} Anderson in Relation to the affair

I am Gent y^{r} mo. Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Oct^{r} 29th 1757
To Mess^{rs} John Steuart & Co. Merchants in London } ℔ Chilton Nov^{r} 22^{d} one of M^{r} Launds ships for Liverpool ℔ Capt Bryce to Liverpool ℔ Captain Lounds } It is not by Gallo-ways ship

Sir

I last year wrote to Messrs. John Steuart & Company for some Goods on my own account and for the Baltimore Company also, which I have not as yet Received, so that I have been obliged to supply myself on both accounts by Buying in the province/ And as from the last Letters I Received from those Gent I Expect the Goods will be sent By a ship of theirs that will sail Pretty late if they arrive safe here they will serve for the Consumption of the next year so that I shall not have occasion for the Goods I wrote for to you Either for my own Private use or for my Proportion to the Baltimore Company

I must therefore Request you will Please to Inquire of the Gentlemen whether they have sent the Goods According to my Invoice sent them (and if they have that you will not send any of those I wrote for to you) Insurance and Expences are now so High that I do not Incline to send for more thans absolutely necessary I suppose if they have been shipped and any advice of their miscarrage that the Gentlemen will Reship them

If Mess^{rs} Bell and Wayne have not sent the Goods I wrote for to them on Account of my Pigg Iron sent them in the Schooner Industry/ I had Rather they should Pay you the produce of the Iron according to the order I sent you on them. I hope you'l Excuse my Giving you this Trouble which may be foreign to your order and method of Business as it Proceeds from my Inclination as I before wrote to Contribute as little as Possible to the Exorbitant Demands and Proffits of the Insurers.

I have wrote to Mess^{rs} Steuart and Company by this opportunity to Give you an Acc^{t} of the Goods shipped or Intended to be shipped by them according to my Invoices to them

I am with Compliments to all wth you
Annapolis Mary^{d} Oct^{r} 29th 1757 D^{r} Sir
To M^{r} W^{m} Anderson Merch^{t} Y^{r} most H^{ble} Serv^{t}
in London C. C.

℔ Chilton Nov^{r} 22^{d} one of M^{r} Launds ships for Liverpool

It is not By Galloways ship ℔ Cap^{t} Bryce and Capt. Lounds

NOTES AND QUERIES.

NOTES ON EDWARD DORSEY AND NICHOLAS WYATT.

By Nannie Ball Nimmo.

In company with Cornelius Lloyd, Richard Starnell, John Stibbs and others, Edward Dorsey, Sr., came into Virginia, and on the 7 of Oct. 1646, Thomas Brown was granted land in Lower Norfolk County, for their transportation.

Cornelius Lloyd, then 38 years of age, had been in the Colony prior to that date.

No record has been found of land taken up in Virginia by Edward Dorsey, but on the 23 of Feb. 1650, a warrant for land was granted him in Anne Arundel County, Maryland.

On the 16 of March, 1652, Edward Dorsey, Richard Starnell and John Stibbs, were again transported to Virginia, this time by Francis Fleetwood, who also received land in Lower Norfolk County for their transportation (*Cavaliers & Pioneers*, by Nugent, f. 170, 274).

In 1655, Edward Dorsey, now a planter, was located in Maryland.

Provincial Court—Liber J. J. No. 4, f. 532.

This Indenture made this 26 of Nov. 1670 between Edward Dorsey son and heir of Edward Dorsey late of Anne Arundel County, planter, and Thomas Manning of the Cliffs in Calvert County, gent.

That whereas Thomas Marsh late of Anne Arundel County, planter, did sell unto my father Edward Dorsey of Anne Arundel County, planter, 300 acres of land part of a dividend of 600 acres, in 1655 etc.

Edward Dorsey, the Immigrant, may have been a Quaker, for Robert Clarkson, a Quaker Convert, wrote to a friend in England 1658, of Ann Dorsey and her husband, both converts, Ann had abundant grace, but Mr Clarkson seemed doubtful that the husband would stick to the faith. (Taken from a letter written by Dr. J. D. Murray.)

The life of the settler came to a sudden end, when in 1659, he was drowned near the Isle of Kent. (*Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 41, f. 314.)

Col. Edward Dorsey, was probably nearly grown, when his father died, and before 1661, had been away from the shores of

Maryland, for Robert Bullen, demanded land for transporting him into Maryland in that year.

In 1664, when Hockley-in-the-Hole, was surveyed for the three brothers, Edward, John and Joshua Dorsey, they were no doubt of age.

Sarah, daughter of Edward Dorsey the Immigrant, was married to Matthew Howard before the 7 of May, 1667, and that same year, Edward Dorsey (later Col. Edward Dorsey), who had again been away from Maryland, assigned his rights for bringing into the province, 7 persons, to Cornelius Howard.

Before the 30 of November, 1670, Edward Dorsey (Col.) was married to Sarah Wyatt.

Provincial Court—Liber J. J. No. 4, f. 133.

Know all men that I Edward Dorsey of Anne Arundel County, planter, have in my stead ordained my well beloved friend Capt. Thomas Stockett of Anne Arundel County, High Sheriff, to be my True and Lawful Attorney, and to acknowledge a Bill of Sale of 300 acres of land sold by me unto Capt. Thomas Manning of Calvert Co. etc.

Edward Dorsey (seal)

In the presence of Sarah Dorsey
Thomas Wright 30 Nov. 1670

Nicholas Wyatt.

Sarah Wyatt was the daughter of Nicholas Wyatt, a Quaker, who had probably come to America to escape persecution.

At a Court held in Lower Norfolk County in 1646, William Howell deposeth that he heard Wm. Julian's Man Nicholas Wyatt say that after Henry Marriott was free he had three years to serve (Liber B. f. 14, Portsmouth Va. Court House).

In 1651 Nicholas Wyatt was in Maryland, and 90 acres of "Wyat" was surveyed for him.

In 1653 he was attorney for John Hawkins, to whom an assignment of land had been given, which assignment had been lost.

"I Nicholas Wyatt attorney for John Hawkins renew the rights, 2 May, 1653." *Early Settlers*, Liber A. B. H. f. 316, Annapolis, Md.

Refusing to take the oath of fidelity, Nicholas Wyatt was deprived of the right to sell land.

Whereas John Freeman the attorney and Richard Huggins both petition the Court against Thomas Marsh, showing that he, having bought a parcel of land of Thomas Marsh containing 10

acres, lying on the south side of the Severn River between land belonging to Edward Dorsey and John Norwood, for as he had already paid 510 lbs of tobacco, being the price of land, can have no money thereof, the Lordship's condition of plantation being not performed by them who first sold the land, ordered that Nicholas Wyatt, who first sold the 10 acres having no right thereof for not carrying out conditions of plantation, pay back the 510 lbs of tobacco to John Freeman, and Freeman give same to the Lordship's receiver. 1659. (Liber S. f. 289. Land Commissioner's Office, Hall of Records, Annapolis.)

Liber F. F. f. 654, 1688. Nicholas Wyatt, friend, being summoned as one of the Grand Jury, refusing to take the oath was fined by the Court.

Warfield's reference, in his "Founders" to Nicholas Wyatt not being in a condition to make a will, should be explained.

Testamentary Proceedings 1670-1678.

Nicholas Wyatt having been taken ill in 1671, Damaris his wife sent for Cornelius Howard to make his will.

Cornelius Howard testifies, that he found Nicholas very sick and weak. However, Nicholas tried to dictate the will, but finally asked Cornelius not to trouble him, he could not remember all he had.

He had left his son Samuel a plantation, and was about to leave his daughter 100 lbs, when his wife interposed, and asked him if he did not remember that he was going to leave her the Lower Plantation, which bequest was given.

Nicholas recovered from that illness, and lived two years. As most of his property had been given to his wife in the will made in 1671, friends suggested that he destroy the will and make another. One friend reasoned, that he had hardly intended to leave his only son a bare plantation with neither servants to wait on him, nor cows to give him milk, but Nicholas seemed indifferent, he returned that his son was as much his wife's son as his.

At another time, while out driving with a friend, the same subject came up, when Nicholas asked, do you think I was in my right senses to leave my only son a bare plantation?

After the death of Nicholas Damaris married Thomas Bland, who went to court to secure the portion of Nicholas' estate left to Damaris in the will of 1671, which will had been revoked. Edward Dorsey as husband of Sarah, fought against him, many witnesses were called, among them Mary, then Mary Welsh, the daughter of Damaris by a former husband, who gave her age as 30 years, in this year of 1673, and who testified that Nicholas had been a loving husband. Edward Dorsey won the suit.

Mary the daughter of Damaris, was born in 1643, Samuel the son of Nicholas and Damaris, after 1653, being under 18 in 1671, but Sarah's birth date is unknown.

John Dorsey son of Edward and Sarah Wyatt, did not as has been stated marry Honor Elder. St. Ann's Parish Records at St. Ann's Church, Annapolis, show that he married in 1708 Honor St—— the remaining letters of the name being lost by the crumbling of the page. However, his daughter Jemimia did marry John Elder, Jr., who was the son of John Elder and his wife Mary.

Nothing has been found to connect John Elder, for whom Laxford was surveyed in 1707, with John Elder of Charles County, who died in 1713, nor with William Elder of Prince George County.

Pat. Book No. 6, f. 628. Dec. 1, 1704. William Laxwell of Talbot County to John Elder, Laxwell on the Patuxent River.

Rent Rolls, A. A. Co. 10 April, 1707. Laxford containing 57 acres surveyed for John Elder and patented to him.

334 acres of Addition to Huntington Quarter, and 100 acres of Duvall's Delight, were later acquired by him.

A member of St. Ann's church, Annapolis, church warden in 1729, the baptism and birth records of some of his children are found there.

John Elder, was either married to Mary Morris by common law marriage before 1708, or his son John was born of a former wife Mary, for it is shown, that on October 14, 1708, was baptized John, son of John Elder and Mary his wife.

October 19, 1708, was married John Elder and Mary Morris.

Alexander was born the 29 of Nov. 1711.

Charles bapt. 2 Sept. 1716.

No record of the birth or baptism of James and Mary.

John Elder died in 1740, leaving a will, naming the above tracts of land, and providing for his children, Alexander, Charles, James and Mary. No mention is made of his son John, because he had already been provided for.

Deeds, A. A. Co. Liber R. D. No. 3, f. 205.

Nov. 15, 1739, John Elder Sr. of A. A. Co. to John Elder Jr. two tracts of land, Addition to Huntington Quarter and Laxford, 150 acres.

John Elder Jr., was vestryman of St. Ann's church in 1744, and Constable for the Lower Precinct in the falls of the

Patuxent River in 1731. With his father he held pew 29 in St. Ann's church, in 1736.

His will made Sept. 20, 1762, leaves to his five sons, John, Owen, Charles, Ely, Elijah, land I now dwell on, pt of Tailor's Park 660 acres. two pieces of land in the fork of the Patuxent, Addition to Huntington Quarter, and Laxford. Land in Baltimore County, 397 acres of Adam's Garden, 160 a Elder's Puzzle, 125 acres of Elder's Plague (he had sold 199½ acres of Elder's Plague). If any sons died before age of 21 years or marry without issue, land to be divided among other sons. To Eldest dau. Elizabeth 10 pounds, 2 daus. Honor and Jemimia 30 pounds each at 16 years of age or marriage.

Wife Jemimia and sons John and Owen exct.

Administration Book 50, f. 34, Joseph Hobbs and Jemimia his wife, exec. of John Elder late of A. A. Co. deceased.

To dau. Elizabeth, who married Joseph Gist. 12 Nov. 1763.

This shows that Jemimia Dorsey married first John Elder, second Joseph Hobbs.

Warfield in his " Founders " states that Vachel Dorsey, son of John and Honor Dorsey, had inherited Belt's Hills, which land had been owned by John Elder, father of Honor Elder. John Elder did not own Belt's Hills. It was bought by John Dorsey, father of Vachel.

On the 29 March, 1744 John Dorsey, son of Edward, bought from Margaret, the daughter of John Tailor of London, 800 acres of Belt's Hills. Liber R. B. No. 2, f. 57, Annapolis.

John Elder son of John and Jemimia married Honor Dorsey of Michael.

Owen Elder son of John and Jemimia married Ann Dorsey of Michael.

Honor Elder dau. of John and Jemimia married Michael Dorsey of Michael.

Honor Howard, daughter of Henry Howard and Sarah (Dorsey) of John did not marry four times, nor did she marry Michael Dorsey of Michael.

Honor Elder, first cousin to both Honor Howard and Michael Dorsey, married Michael Dorsey of Michael.

Honor Howard married Rezin Warfield, John Davidge, Joseph Wilkins, and died in 1792 as widow of Joseph Wilkins, her Davidge sons administering upon her estate. (Administration Account, Register of Wills Office, Anne Arundel Court House, Annapolis.)

Brooks. The following family "is said" to have migrated to Frederick County, Virginia, from Maryland.

Matthew Brooks, the father, died intestate in Frederick County, Virginia, in 1754. Elizabeth Brooks, widow, and Joel Brooks, son, appointed administrators. (Order Bk. 6, page 107.)

Elizabeth Brooks, widow of Matthew, above, dated her will December 12, 1759. It was probated in Frederick County, Virginia, on February 6, 1760. The heirs were "my son Joel, eldest son and heir-at-law," sons William, Daniel, Matthew, James, Thomas and Jesse; daughters Mary Thornbrough and Judith Pemberton. Benjamin Thornbrough and William Jolliffe, executors. (Will Bk. 2, page 368.)

Both Matthew and Elizabeth (———) Brooks appear to have been members of the Hopewell Meeting of Friends in Frederick County, Virginia.

Queries: When and where was Matthew Brooks, the father, born, and who were his parents? When and where did he marry Elizabeth ———? When and where was Elizabeth (———) Brooks born, and who were her parents?

Postage guaranteed for answers or clues to any of the above queries. Please address:

Mr. E. Howard Drake,
3214 R Street,
——— Lincoln, Nebr.

Richards. Edward Richards, whose will was dated Sept. 22, 1755, had twelve children, among them being Lydia who became the wife of William Winchester and mother of General James Winchester. Edward Richards purchased 100 acres of land, called the Downs, from J. Peter Taylor in 1720; it was located on the Choptank River a few miles south of the present-day town of Choptank. In an article by Ferdinand B. Focke in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of December, 1930, it is stated that J. Mason Campbell says that Lydia Richards Winchester was born on Choptank River. John Richards owned a tract of 300 acres of land, called Cardiffe, on the Choptank River at the head of a creek in the river called Hunton Creek, near the present-day town of Choptank. Was John Richards the father of Edward Richards, or in any other way related to him?

Address: Professor Charles Lee Lewis,
Department of English and History,
U. S. Naval Academy,
Annapolis, Maryland.

STONE, LUCKETT, HANSON, AND STONESTREET. A genealogical history of the four above-named families of Charles County is in preparation and the compiler would like to correspond with all interested descendants.

HARRY WRIGHT NEWMAN,
1026 16th St.,
Washington, D. C.

WYATT. Who was the father of Richard Wyatt, born near Baltimore, March 14, 1769?

ROSCOE D. WYATT,
817 Hopkins Ave.,
Redwood City, Calif.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

January 11, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active:

Mr. Philip Sidney Goldsmith	Mr. J. C. M. Lucas
Mr. Edwin F. Severn	Mrs. George Zink
Dr. Victor Davis Miller	Mr. J. A. Dulany Hunter
Mr. Norman Niccum	Mrs. G. Carroll Bull

Associate:

Miss Penelope Griffiss	Mrs. Ida Helen McCarty
Mrs. Gertrude Howard Maire	Miss Lucie Leigh Bowie

Mr. G. Kirby Holmes

The list of donations made to the library was read.

Senator George Arnold Frick was recognized by the Chair and he reported for the Nominating Committee, placing in

nomination for the offices and various committees the present incumbents, with the following additions:

Corresponding Secretary, William B. Marye.
Trustees of the Athenaeum, Thomas F. Cadwalader.
C. Morgan Marshall.
Membership Committee, Marshall Winchester.
Genealogical Committee, Francis B. Culver, *Chairman.*

General Riggs stated that additional nominations could be made within ten days of this date over the signature of five members entitled to vote.

John Calvin French, Ph. D., was introduced and he read a paper entitled: "Poe's Literary Baltimore."

Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield moved that the unanimous thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. French for his most instructive and interesting paper. Motion carried.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

February 8, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved as read.

The list of donations to the library and gallery was read. Special note was made of the photostat copies of three volumes of the Moravian Church Records, Graceham, Frederick County, Maryland, which were presented to the library by the Maryland State Society, Daughters of the American Colonists.

The following named, having been previously nominated, were elected to membership:

Active:

Miss Grace Atkinson	David F. Woods
Miss Marie R. Rogers	Jacob Gross
Charles E. Scarlett, Jr.	Mrs. Harold Hardinge, Jr.

Associate:

Edwin T. Goodridge J. F. Metten

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

F. Buchanan Owen, October 10, 1936.
Charles H. Knapp, July 27, 1936.
Millard F. Hudson, January 27, 1937.

An illustrated talk was given by G. Harlan Wells, M. D., of Philadelphia, entitled: "The British Campaign of 1777 in Maryland Prior to the Battle of Brandywine."

Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield was recognized by the Chair and he offered that the unanimous thanks of the Society be extended to Dr. Wells for his most extraordinarily interesting talk.

The motion was seconded and carried.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

February 8, 1937.—The Annual Meeting of the Society was called to order immediately upon the adjournment of the regular monthly meeting.

The reading of the minutes of the last Annual Meeting was dispensed with as said minutes were published in the March, 1936, issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

It was moved by Col. John Philip Hill, seconded and carried, that the Secretary cast the ballot for the officers and members of the various committees as printed, as no additional nominations had been made since the January meeting of the Society; therefore those persons nominated stood for election.

The following results were announced:

President.

Clinton L. Riggs.

Vice-Presidents.

Samuel K. Dennis, Jr. J. Hall Pleasants.
George L. Radcliffe.

Corresponding Secretary.
WILLIAM B. MARYE.

Recording Secretary.
JAMES E. HANCOCK.

Treasurer.
HEYWARD E. BOYCE.

Trustees of the Athenaeum.

G. CORNER FENHAGEN, *Chairman*

WILLIAM G. BAKER, JR.
SUMMERFIELD BALDWIN.
THOMAS F. CADWALADER.
CHARLES MCHENRY HOWARD.
C. MORGAN MARSHALL.

Gallery Committee.

LAWRENCE HALL FOWLER, *Chairman.*

JAMES R. HERBERT BOONE.
THOMAS C. CORNER.
R. MACGILL MACKALL.
LAWRASON RIGGS.

Library Committee.

LOUIS H. DIELMAN, *Chairman.*

HENRY J. BERKLEY.
JOHN W. GARRETT.
GEORGE HARRISON.
EDWARD B. MATHEWS.
GILMAN PAUL.
A. MORRIS TYSON.

Finance Committee.

WILLIAM INGLE, *Chairman.*

R. WALTER GRAHAM, SR.
CHARLES E. RIEMAN.

Publication Committee.

W. STULL HOLT, *Chairman.*

J. HALL PLEASANTS.
RAPHAEL SEMMES.

Membership Committee.

MRS. ROBERT F. BRENT, *Chairman.*

ALEXANDER BROWN GRISWOLD.
JOHN EAGER HOWARD OF B.
MACGILL JAMES.
FERDINAND C. LATROBE.
JOHN P. PACA, JR.
MARSHALL WINCHESTER.

Genealogical Committee.

FRANCIS B. CULVER, *Chairman.*

WALTER W. BEERS.
JANE JAMES COOK.
FERDINAND B. FOCKE.
HARRIET P. MARINE.
PERCY G. SKIRVEN.

Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainment.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD, *Chairman.*

DOUGLAS H. GORDON.
B. HOWELL GRISWOLD, JR.

The annual reports of the committees were filed with the Secretary, and upon motion duly seconded and carried, the reading of these reports was dispensed with as same will be published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine.*

The President read the Annual Report of the Council, being a summary of the annual reports of the various committees, which follows:

ANNUAL MEETING.

Report of the Council.

The Council, in compliance with a requirement of the By-Laws offers this condensed report of its administration of the affairs of the Society during the year 1936.

The detailed reports of the Chairman of the various committees will be published in full in the March issue of the *Magazine*; but a brief summary of the activities of the Society may be of interest at this time.

The Membership Committee again reports an increase over the preceding year. One hundred and fifteen new members were elected and qualified and eighty-six were lost by death, resignation, and because of non-payment of dues, making the total membership 1068 as of December 31st, 1936. A net gain of 29 during the year.

The report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum shows that by rigid economy the expenses of operation and repairs have been kept within the limited budget, with a substantial balance saved, which has been applied to a necessary replacement of a part of the heating plant, now finished, and in successful operation.

The Gallery Committee acknowledges the receipt of nine portraits from Mr. H. Oliver Thompson; and a valuable collec-

tion of nine water colors and four pieces of silver bequeathed to the Society by the will of Mr. Thornton Rollins. Also a portrait and a cash donation from Miss Jane Rebecca Griffith Keys; and a number of other gifts of historical value. Two permanent cases have been installed for the Patterson-Bonaparte china with silver identification markers. This was made possible by the generous donation for this purpose of $200. from Mrs. Arthur Robeson, the balance needed being taken from the Bonaparte Endowment Fund. The Council approved a loan of three ship models for the Marine Exhibition at Fort McHenry. These articles have now been returned and are in the Library.

The report of the Committee on Addresses lists eight lectures which were provided for the entertainment of the members and friends during the year. The thanks of the Society are due the eminent persons who accepted the Chairman's invitation and made the monthly meetings both interesting and educational.

The Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry reports a long list of books and manuscripts which have been added to the genealogical collection of which the most valuable and outstanding was the gift of Dr. Joseph S. Ames, who presented more than two hundred volumes and a large collection of manuscript records, some of which formerly belonged to the late Wilson Miles Cary. Approximately fifty other useful items are included in the list of donations pertaining particularly to genealogy.

The Chairman of the Library Committee states that the gifts to the library have been unusually diversified, valuable and numerous. There has been added 324 bound volumes, 70 pamphlets, 195 manuscripts, 3 broadsides, 1 map and 185 pieces of local sheet music. These figures are approximate only, as, in at least two of the collections, the individual pieces would run into thousands. This enumeration does not include the library of the late Governor Albert C. Ritchie, nor the donations mentioned in the report of the Genealogical Committee.

The Finance Committee reports that the Chairman in company with the Treasurer examined and checked the securities in the safe deposit box belonging to the endowment funds; and find this property of the Society to be intact and in accord with the list attached to the report. During the year, the Chairman has reorganized the bookkeeping of the Society so that it reflects instantly both the income and disbursements of each department. From a reasonably exact appraisement it appears that the various endowment funds now hold bonds worth approximately $147,630. and stocks of a present value of about $39,400. or a total of $187,030. in securities, with a prospective yield in 1937 of $7,540. The Committee particularly compliments the Treasurer on his interest and care of the Society's finances during the past several years of readjustment.

The Publication Committee has in preparation two volumes of the Archives, which will be published early in 1937. These volumes LIII and LIV of the general series will include the earliest court proceedings of the county courts of Charles, Kent, Talbot and Somerset, which have been preserved. Four numbers of the *Magazine* have been issued quarterly under the editorial management of Mr. Louis H. Dielman.

The itemized report of the Treasurer will be published in full with the other reports. The report shows a balance in hand on December 31, 1936, of $3,036.83 of which $399.57 is the uninvested balance of the endowment fund.

Several members contributed sufficient funds to purchase a case for the Rodgers silver previously deposited with the Society.

The Council reports that under an Act of the Legislature, passed in 1882, the Society has been the custodian for the past fifty-five years of a large number of very valuable State documents bearing on the early history of Maryland. Formal receipts for these were given the Land Office at the time they were deposited with the Society. With the completion of the Hall of Records at Annapolis, in 1935, the State Commission in control, under powers given it by the Legislature in 1933, made a formal demand upon the Society for the return of these documents.

This was complied with, and on June 10th and October 22nd, 1936, an itemized receipt for them was given to the Society by the Archivist of the Hall of Records, authorized by the Commission to receive them. A careful check up, item by item, of the very large number of manuscript books and loose papers returned in 1936, with the receipts given to the Land Office many years ago for them, shows that the Maryland Historical Society has not been remiss in its duty as custodian for over half a century of these invaluable documents.

The Society of the Cincinnati was accorded the usual courtesy, on February 22nd, of holding its annual meeting in the Society's rooms.

The Enoch Pratt Library was granted permission to photograph certain paintings and prints of which they desired to have copies in their files; and the Federal Art Project made photographs of silver and furniture belonging to the Society.

The Council recognizes the value of the services of Mr. J. Alexis Shriver who has given most generously of his time and ability in his unceasing efforts to promote the interests of the Society during his incumbency of the office of Corresponding Secretary.

The Baltimore Library Company was organized in 1796 and subsequently was merged into the Maryland Historical Society which was founded in 1844.

In 1845 a few gentlemen provided a fund of thirty-five thousand dollars for purchasing a lot on the corner of St. Paul and Saratoga streets and for erecting and furnishing a building adapted to the needs of the Society and its library. This building was at the time considered very handsome and was the home of the Society until 1918. By the generous gift of Mrs. Mary Washington Keyser, the present site was purchased, and a fireproof building was erected as a memorial to her husband. The Society, however, has again outgrown its present home and needs more space and better facilities to exhibit and make available to the public its valuable historical and genealogical books, manuscripts, maps and collections of miscellaneous items.

It is hoped that in the near future an addition to the present buildings may be provided. Such an addition, however, will necessitate a much larger income than is available at present for proper maintenance.

The Council appeals to its members to assist in increasing the membership and to promote an interest in the work of the Society which will encourage donations and legacies to the endowment fund.

While the Society is now living within its income, it is obvious that it can be of much greater value to the city and state, if it is able to give better service and make its priceless treasures more readily available to the members and the public.

Clinton L. Riggs, *President.*

Report of the Library Committee.

Your Committee reports that for the past year the gifts from members and friends have been unusually diversified, valuable and numerous, so much so, that it is impractical to list in detail all of the gifts or the names of the donors. The following figures are approximate only, for in at least two of the collections received the individual pieces would run into the thousands.

We have added to our collection 324 bound volumes, 70 pamphlets, 195 manuscripts (including photo-stat copies), three broadsides, one map and 185 pieces of local sheet music. This enumeration does not include a large lot of books from the library of the late Governor Ritchie, as no decision has been made as to the handling and housing of the gift, which naturally, includes many duplicate items; nor does it include two large genealogical collections, that of the late Dr. Thomas E. Sears, presented by his son, nor that of the late Wilson Miles Cary, presented by Dr. Joseph S. Ames. The latter contains many valuable manuscript records, scrap books, genealogical periodicals, scarce books and a manuscript index of personal names, compiled by Dr. Ames. Altogether this is one of the most important

additions to our genealogical resources, which will probably be more definitely treated in the report of the Committee on Genealogy.

One of the outstanding gifts of the year was a Rent Roll of Anne Arundel county, bearing the Calvert and Harford book plates, and apparently was at some period a part of the Calvert Papers. It supplements the Rent Rolls that we already own.

In the Cataloguing department especial attention has been given to the segregation, and arrangement of local imprints, in which we are very rich. Special students from abroad have made considerable use of this section and have expressed gratification for the manner of arrangement which has greatly facilitated their investigations. We are under obligations for the volunteer work of Mrs. E. M. Borden who has assisted in the collection and calendaring of imprints.

Work has been begun on our broadsides of which we have many; but it is a slow and tedious process and one requiring technical skill and endless patience.

The Maryland Branch of the Daughters of American Colonists, through it's President Mrs. William E. Miller, secured and had photostatted the Records of the Moravian Church of Graceham, Frederick Co. The copying and binding of the two volumes cost about $135.00.

Other gifts to the Library included a check for $25.00 and a card filing case.

Respectfully submitted,

L. H. Dielman, *Chairman.*

Report of the Membership Committee.

1936 Report.

January 1, 1936. Total Membership:

Life	19	
Associate	141	
Active	879	
		1039

New Members elected 1936:

Active	85	
Associate	30	
		115
		1154

(Twenty-five elected but did not accept membership.)

Members lost during 1936:

Death	33	
Resignation	32	
Dropped	21	
		86
		1068

December 31, 1936. Total Membership:

Life	19	
Associate	147	
Active	902	
		1068

Net increase membership for 1936 shows *29 members.*

Respectfully submitted,

Alice Harris Brent,
Chairman Membership Committee.

Report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum.

We beg to submit herewith report of the Trustees of the Athenaeum for the calendar year 1936.

The budget allowance for the year was $2,000.00, and we have actually expended during the year for repairs, fuel, insurances, taxes, burglary protection and miscellaneous items, a total of $1,752.17, leaving a balance of $247.83. We have, however, contracted for a new pump and certain minor replacements in the heating plant amounting to $570.10, which are not included in the above statement.

Our 5 year term burglary protection contract has expired, and we have recommended renewal of this contract for a two year period.

The following is a detailed statement of our account:

Appropriation for 1936		$2,000.00
Expenses:		
Repairs	$201.33	
Light	279.78	
Supplies	58.00	
Water Rent	25.60	
Fuel	566.70	
Insurance	158.56	
Removing Ashes	35.00	
A. D. T.	427.20	
		$1,752.17
Balance		$ 247.83

Respectfully submitted,

G. Corner Fenhagen, *Chairman.*

Report of the Gallery Committee.

The Committtee is very pleased to report the gift of nine portraits of members of the Thompson Family by Mr. H. Oliver Thompson. These portraits have been on exhibition in the Society's Gallery for a number of years and we are delighted that they are now labeled as our property.

The bequest of the late Mr. Thornton Rollins is a very valuable addition to our collections being nine water-colors of ships and marine scenes; and a four piece silver service presented to " Captain William Rollins by the passengers on board the S. S. *Neptune,* Oct. 1840."

The gift of a portrait by Eddy of Jane Rebecca Griffith, together with one hundred dollars, was presented by Miss Jane Rebecca Griffith Keys, niece and namesake of Jane Rebecca Griffith.

With the generous help of Mrs. Laura Patterson Swan Robeson the Committee was enabled to have permanent cases made for the Patterson-Bonaparte china which was presented last year and this exhibit marked with silver plates.

Attached is a detailed list of the items presented to the Gallery during the year.

GIFTS PRESENTED TO THE GALLERY, 1936.

Photograph taken in rear of Lee House, Richmond, a few days after the General's return from Appomattox. Officers with him are Gen. Custis Lee (left) and Col. Walter Taylor (right).

Small photograph showing " Confederate Generals " (Lee, Davis, Ewell, Jackson, Johnston, Beauregard and Hill). Gifts of Mr. C. Braxton Dallam.

Fourteen (14) pictures of the Confederacy. Gift of Miss Anna Gittings.

One pair of dueling pistols, parole papers, pass from Camp Henrico, and letter of recommendation for T. B. Shipley. Gift of Mr. W. Benton Shipley, Shipley Station, Ann Arundel County, Maryland.

Manuscript of " Maryland my Maryland," presented by the author, James R. Randall, to Thos. B. Donaldson. Gift of Mr. Thomas B. Donalson, 22 Hamilton Road, Glen Ridge, N. J.

Wooden block cut from White Oak tree in the Western Boundary of Maryland, according to final survey, 1910. Shows marks of surveys made in 1781. Gift of Senator William McCulloh Brown

Photograph of old Maryland Club on Cathedral and Franklin Streets. Gift of Judge Allan McLane.

Medals—B. & O. Iron Horse, 150th Anniversary of Baltimore, and three medals of Washington. (Farmer, Friendship Fire Company and Surveying Alexandria). Gift of Mr. Frederick Farley.

Nine Portraits: Henry Thompson, Henry Anthony Thompson, Mrs. Henry Thompson (Ann Lux Bowly), Mrs. Henry Anthony Thompson (Julie Zelina deMacklot), Ann Lux Bowly, Mary Caile Harrison (Mrs. Robert Oliver), Hall Harrison, Robert Oliver, Charles Oliver. Gift of H. Oliver Thompson.

Paintings: (1) Ship Neptune, (2) S. S. Isabel, (3) Bark Baltimore, (4) Bark Julia Rollins, (5) Brig Eleanora, (6) Marine scene "Shipwreck," (7) Marine scene "Yachts," (8) Marine scene "unidentified," (9) Photograph of Julia Rollins. Gift of G. Harry Barnes, Executor, Estate of Thornton Rollins.

Washington, printed on satin. Hoen Lithograph. Gift of Lester Levy.

Etching of Edgar Allan Poe, by Frederick Farley. Gift of Peabody Institute.

Framed photograph of Miss Elizabeth Collins Lee and 17 medals and decorations of various societies to which she belonged. Gift of Mrs. Charles E. Rieman for Mr. Collins Lee.

Bracelets belonging to and worn by Dr. James M. Taylor's two daughters: Mary Rebecca Parker and Eliza Dorcas Bond. Gift of Mrs. Katharine Brevitt.

One (1) piece of plate (coffee pot) engraved: "Presented to Captain Morris Llewellyn of Haverford, 1647-1730, by M. L. Cooke.
William Rollins by some of the passengers of the S. S. *New York*" (dated August 3, 1837). Four-piece silver service: coffee-pot, Sugar Bowl, Cream-pitcher, and spoon-bowl engraved: "Presented to Captain William Rollins by the passengers on board the S. S. *Neptune*" (dated October, 1840). Gift of G. Harry Barnes, Executor of the Estate of Thornton Rollins.

Flag which was on the U. S. Privateer Ship *Globe* during the War of 1812. Was brought home by Fred. Bandel who was one of the crew and later he gave the flag to his son, Geo. W. Bandel, who was badly wounded in the Battle of Gettysburg and who died September 19, 1916, in the 83rd year of his age, and just before his death presented the Flag to Mr. Thomas E. Sanford. Gift of Mr. H. Keighly Peach, 1209 Linden Ave.

Quilt purchased by Mr. Shriver and presented to the Society. Made about 1780 by Sophia Henning. Eight of her brothers were in the Revolutionary War and her two youngest brothers helped to build the Star Fort (Fort McHenry). Bag made from linen thread grown and spun by Sophia Henning in 1776 at the age of 10. Gifts of Mrs. Elizabeth P. Irving, Waterbury, Maryland.

Portrait of Jane Rebecca Griffith by Eddy. Gift of Miss Jane Griffith Keys.

Photograph of Meeting of the Atlantic Cable Projectors, with key to persons on picture. Gift of Mrs. Martha B. Hunt Benson, Blakistone Apartments.

Respectfully submitted,

LAURENCE HALL FOWLER, *Chairman.*

Report of the Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainments.

To the President and Council of the Maryland Historical Society:

Your Committee on Lectures and Literary Entertainments reports the following lectures given during the past year:

January 13—"Maryland's Social Structure, 1735-1769." By Professor Paul H. Giddens, Allegheny College.

February 10—"Three French Visitors to Baltimore a Century Ago." By Professor Gilbert Chinard, The Johns Hopkins University.

March 9—"Charles Carroll, Barrister, in his Letters." By Professor W. Stull Holt, The Johns Hopkins University.

April 13—"Personal Recollections of Former Governor Albert C. Ritchie." By Stuart S. Janney, Esq.

May 11—"The Baltimore Bar Association in Joint session with the Maryland Historical Society." "Centenary of Justice Roger Brooke Taney." By Professor Carl B. Swisher.

October 12—"Some Economic Problems of Seventeenth-Century Maryland." By Professor Vertrees J. Wyckoff, St. John's College.

November 9—"Witchcraft in Maryland, Studied on the Basis of Some New Documents." By Judge Francis Neal Parke.

December 14—"A Note on John W. M. Lee," Librarian of the Society, 1877-1892. By Mrs. Ruth Lee Briscoe.

Respectfully submitted,

Kent Roberts Greenfield, *Chairman,*
B. Howell Griswold, Jr.,
Douglas H. Gordon.

Report of the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry.

The Committee reports that the usual number of Genealogical items were added to the library this year through the generous gifts of the many friends of the Society.

The most outstanding and valuable gift was that of Dr. Joseph S. Ames who presented two hundred and some odd volumes to the library, the majority of which pertained to genealogy. In addition to the volumes Dr. Ames presented a

very large collection of the manuscript records of the late Wilson Miles Cary Genealogical Collection.

There has been a noticeable decrease in the genealogical inquiries made by mail but those received are still acknowledged with the regular printed forms giving the names of the genealogists who are equipped to undertake research.

Following is a detailed list of the items received for the year:

Register of Maryland's Heraldic Families, by Alice Norris Parran. Gift of Baltimore Chapter, D. A. R.

Richmond Family Records, Vol. 2. Gift of Henry I. Richmond.

William Torrey Harris, 1835-1935. Gift of Henry Ridgley Evans.

Genealogical notes of the late Dr. Thomas E. Sears.

Carroll-Fitzhugh Cemetery Records at Williamsburgh, two miles south of Geneseo, N. Y. Gift of Miss Hazel H. Smith.

Short sketch of the Gallup Family, by E. B. Gallup. Gift of Mrs. C. L. Atha.

Lantz Genealogy. Gift of J. W. Lantz.

National Society D. A. R. Lineage Books.

Will of Joseph Williams, 1780. Gift of Miss Josephine Slagle.

Kipp-Shryer-Stow Family History. Gift of John Carroll Stow.

Genealogy of the Richard Wyatt Family Line. Gift of Roscoe D. Wyatt.

Records of Abstracts of Wills in Warren County, Kentucky (2 vols.); Records of Wills in Nicholas County, Kentucky, 1799-1850; Records of Wills, McDonough County, Illinois, 1834-1851; Marriages and Settlements of Estates, Nicholas County, Kentucky; Records of Marriages, Pulaski County, Kentucky. Gifts of Mrs. Annie Walker Burns.

Records of Christ P. E. Church Cemetery, Cambridge, Md. Gift of Jay M. Whitham.

The Letters of Captain Hamilton Cook, written in 1864-1865. Gift of Miss Jane James Cook.

Photostat copy of the Washington Family Chart. Gift of Mrs. Winchester Britton.

Copy of a letter giving the descent of Maj. Philip Clayton of "Catalpa."

Copy of a letter giving some data on the Clayton Family. Gift of Hon. John B. P. Clayton Hill.

Virginia Historical Index (2 vols.). Gift of Miss Jane James Cook.

Bryan Family Chart. Gift of Miss Drill.

Pedigree of Monius of Waldesharre, Kent, Eng.

Extracts from Lawrence B. Thomas Genealogical Notes. Gift of Mrs. Annie Haight Kerfoot.

Gregory and Simon Stone Genealogy. Gift of the Stone Family Association.

Connecticut Family Records collected in commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Settlement of Connecticut. Gift of the Maryland

Chapter of the National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America.

Tombstone Inscriptions, Fairview private burying grounds of family of Gov. Oden Bowie, 1745-1904.

Tombstone inscriptions of St. Barnabas Church Cemetary, Queen Anne Parish, Prince George County (incomplete). Gift of Mrs. Edward Passano.

Anne Arundel County Rent Roll. Gift of subscribers, John W. Garrett, Chas. McH. Howard, Hugh H. Young, and Jos. C. France.

North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register, Vols. 1, 2, and part of Vol. 3. Gift of N. S. D. F. and P. A., through Miss Bessie Porter.

Duvall Family Records with Price connections, prepared by Maj. Henry Brooke Price. Also a manuscript book of the Duvall and Price family records. Gift of Mr. John Duvall Howard.

Dunker Burial Grounds Records, 1813-1863. Gift of Mrs. Charles F. Macklin.

Bond Genealogy. Gift of Mr. Henry Bond.

Gillett and Miller Family Records. Gift of Dr. Maurice E. Shamer.

Freeborn Garrettson Waters Bible Records. Gift of Mr. Campbell Easter Waters.

Cassell Cemetary Records, near Westminster, Maryland. Compiled and presented by Louis H. Dielman.

Babylon Family History, compiled by Wm. B. and M. C. Duttera. Gift of Rev. Dr. Wm. B. Duttera.

Collection of miscellaneous papers of the Englar Family. Gift of Mrs. E. Joseph Englar.

Margaret Martin Porter Chart. Gift of Mrs. Gadsden Porcher.

Virginia Appleton, George Egleston Woodruff, and Betty Cadwell, Family Charts. Gift of Dr. Cadwell Woodruff.

Florence Eyster Weaver Family Chart. Gift of Dr. Jacob J. Weaver.

Abstracts of Wills and Inventories, Fairfax County, Va., 1742-1801.

Mississippi Court Records, 1799-1835.

The Buck Family of Virginia. Gift of Walter Hooper Buck.

Tombstone inscriptions of Queen Anne's County; Caroline County; Dorchester County; Talbot and Frederick Counties.

Notes on the Bordley, Abbott, Laird, and Winder families. Gift of Francis E. Old, Jr.

Will of Benjamin Mackall IV. Gift of J. Hall Pleasants.

Cemetery Records of Sussex County, Delaware. Gift of Millard F. Hudson.

Respectfully submitted,

William B. Marye, *Chairman.*

Report of the Publication Committee.

No volume of the *Archives of Maryland* has been issued during the year 1936. There are now in preparation two volumes of the *Archives* which will form volumes 6 and 7 of the Court subseries, and Volumes LIII and LIV of the general series. These two volumes will include the earliest court proceedings of the county courts of Charles, Kent, Talbot and Somerset, which have been preserved. It seems advisable that both volumes should be issued at the same time, and it is hoped that they will appear early in 1937.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* has continued to be published during the year under the editorial management of Mr. Louis H. Dielman.

Following is a statement of the cost of publication of the *Magazine*:

Budget allowance		$1,750.00
Credits		191.61
		$1,941.61
Printing (four issues)	$1,555.55	
Postage (distribution of four issues)	56.26	
Editor	200.00	
		1,811.81
Balance		$ 129.80

Respectfully submitted,

J. Hall Pleasants, *Chairman.*

Report of the Treasurer.

Clinton L. Riggs, Esq.,
President, Maryland Historical Society,
Baltimore, Maryland.

My Dear Sir:

In company with Mr. Heyward E. Boyce, Treasurer, the safety deposit box of the Society was entered last week when

all of the securities, the property of the Society, were checked with the endorsed initialed list and coupons to mature between this date and January 1, 1938, inclusive, were clipped for collection in due course. The list speaks for itself and reflects the interest and care of our Treasurer during the past several years of investment readjustment.

I heretofore have reported informally upon an examination made of the books and accounts of the Society. These are so kept as to reflect instantly and accurately both income and disbursements in the several departments of activity of the Society.

GENERAL ACCOUNT.

Balance on hand January 1, 1936		$ 2,670.59
Receipts.		
Dues from members		$ 5,225.00
General Account:		
Gift towards Francis Scott Key Miniature Fund	$ 80.00	
Gift towards Exhibition Cases	116.35	
Carroll Papers	369.70	
Special (Anne Arundel Rent Roll)	100.00	
Rodgers Exhibit	15.00	
Telephone	71.33	
Photostat	41.55	
Transferred from Archives account salary	120.00	
Miscellaneous	36.70	
		950.63
Permanent Endowment Fund:		
Gift Orra Monnette	25.00	
Gift Jane Griffith Keys	100.00	
		125.00
Income Peabody Fund		855.00
Income other than Peabody Fund		2,964.50
Income Athenaeum Fund		3,820.00
Income Audubon Fund		84.00
Investigation and Searches		2.00
Confederate Relics		50.00
Certificate of Membership		16.75
Publication Committee		15.05
Library Committee		240.68
Magazine Account		206.41

Securities:		
$3,500 N. Y. Edison 5's called @ 104.....	3,640.00	
$5,000 Va. Railway Company 5's called @ 110..	5,500.00	
12% Distribution Mortgage Security Corp. "B"	240.00	
		23,935.02
		$26,605.61

EXPENDITURES.

General Account:			
Salaries	$6,223.42		
Trustees	1,752.17		
Office	268.50		
Treasurer	125.61		
Carroll Papers	109.90		
Cook Fund	62.81		
Bonaparte Fund	289.45		
Case Fund	136.35		
Key Miniatures Fund	250.00		
Address Committee	41.00		
Special	385.00		
General Fund	714.12		
		$10,358.33	
Magazine Account		1,555.55	
Library Committee		2,053.43	
Publication Committee		256.26	
Securities Purchased (See investment account)		9,323.21	
Interest Accrued on Securities Purchased		22.00	
			23,568.78
Balance on Hand December 31, 1936			$ 3,036.83

Respectfully submitted,

WM. INGLE,

Chairman of Finance Committee.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBER.

AMES, JOSEPH S. (1937) ..... Charlcote Place, Guilford, Baltimore
MARSDEN, R. G. (1902) ..... 13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

LIFE MEMBERS.

BREVITT, MRS. KATHERINE MACKENZIE (1935) ..... Hotel Altamont, Baltimore
* BRIDGES, MRS. PRISCILLA B. (1910) ..... 425 N. Potomac St., Hagerstown, Md.
CAIN, MRS. MARY CLOUGH (1922) ..... Church Hill, Md.
CALVERT, CHARLES EXLEY (1911) ..... 34 Huntly St., Toronto, Canada
CORNER, THOMAS C. (1913) ..... 260 W. Biddle St.
DAVIS, GEORGE HARVEY (1927) ..... 14 E. Biddle St.
DICK, MRS. FRANK M. (1933) ..... Cambridge, Md.
GAITHER, MISS IDA BELLE (1935) ..... Elizabethtown, New York
HOWARD, MISS ELIZABETH GRAY (1916) ... 901 St. Paul St.
JEANES, MRS. JOSEPH Y. (1931) ..... Villa Nova, Pa.
* KEY, EDMUND (1931) ..... Marshall, Texas
LITTLEJOHN, MRS. ROBERT M. (1916) .... 2 E. 88th St., N. Y. C.
LOYOLA COLLEGE LIBRARIAN ..... Loyola College, Charles St. Ave., and Cold Spring Lane
MARBURG, MISS EMMA (1917) ..... 6 E. Eager St., Baltimore
MASSEY, MRS. HERMAN BIDDLE (1935) .... 1017 N. Calvert Street
MORRIS, LAWRENCE J. (1927) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
REDWOOD, MRS. MARY B. (1907) ..... Preston Apts.
SHIRK, MRS. IDA M. (1913) ..... Care of R. C. Faust, Central Union Trust Bldg., 42nd St. & Madison Ave., New York City
SHORT, CAPT. JOHN SAULSBURY (1919) ... 38 E. 25th Street
SHRIVER, J. ALEXIS (1931) ..... Bel Air, Md.
WILLIAMS, MISS NELLIE C. (1917) ..... 50 Riverside Drive, N. Y. City
WOODWARD, WILLIAM (1935) ..... One Wall Street, N. Y. City

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

BELL, HERBERT C. (1899) ..... R. D. Route, No. 4, Springfield, O.
BLACK, J. WILLIAM, PH. D. (1898) ..... Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
BROOKS, WILLIAM GRAY (1895) ..... 257 S. 21st St., Phila., Pa.
BROWN, HENRY JOHN (1908) ..... 4 Trafalgar Sq., London, W. C., Eng.
COCKEY, MARSTON ROGERS (1897) ..... 117 Liberty St., New York

* Deceased.

FORD, WORTHINGTON C. (1890).....1154 Boylston St., Boston, Mass.
HALL, HUBERT (1904).....Public Record Office, London
HERSH, GRIER (1897).....York, Pa.
STEVENSON, JOHN J. (1890).....215 West End Ave., New York
WOOD, HENRY C. (1902).....Harrodsburg, Ky.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

ABBOTT, MRS. GORDON (KATHERINE TIFFANY) (1935)..... } 240 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
ADAMS, HARRINGTON (1934).....Bethlehem Trust Bldg., Bethlehem, Pa.
ANDREWS, CHARLES LEE (1911).....42 Broadway, New York.
ANDREWS, CHARLES MCLEAN, PH. D. (1907) ..... } Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.
AULD, MISS LULA GRAY (1935).....Danville, Va.
BAKER, MRS. C. H. (1927).....1080 Arden Rd., Pasadena, Cal.
BALL, DAVID HAINES (1935).....327 E. Sidney Ave., Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
BELL, ALEXANDER H. (1916).....3400 Garfield St., Washington, D. C.
BELL, EDMUND HAYES (1920).....Enniskillen Farms, Easton, Md.
BELL, MRS. LOUIS V. (ANNIE MEGRUE) (1930)..... } 205 West 89th St., New York City
BLOOM, MRS. SARAH F. (1929).....Vienna, RFD, Va.
BOUVIER, MRS. HENRIETTA J. (1919).....580 Park Ave., N. Y.
BRITTON, MRS. WINCHESTER (1932).....Cranford, N. J.
BUCKLER, WILLIAM H. (1923).....1 Bardwell Road, Oxford, England
BULKLEY, MRS. CAROLINE (KEMPER) (1926) ..... } 1044 Rutherford Ave., Shreveport, La.
BULLITT, WILLIAM MARSHALL (1914).....Inter-Southern Bldg., Louisville, Ky.
BURCH, A. STUART (1929)..... { 1314 Delafield St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
CARPENTER, MRS. WALTER S. (1936).....Wilmington, Delaware
CARROLL, MRS. ELIZABETH SWANN (1931) ..Fernandina, Florida
CARTY, REV. ARTHUR (1924).....219 S. 6th St., Phila., Pa.
CECIL, ARTHUR BOND, M. D. (1933) { 1016 Pacific Mutual Bldg., Los Angeles, Calif.
CHANEY, MRS. HERBERT M. (1936).....2115 F St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
CHEW, MAJOR FIELDER BOWIE (1934).. { 1910 Biltmore Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
CLARK, ALLEN C. (1926).....Equitable Bldg., Washington, D. C.
COOCH, MRS. EDWARD W. (1936).....Cooch's Bridge, Newark, Delaware
CURRY, MISS KATE S. (1930).....1420 Gerard St., Washington, D. C.
DAVIDGE, WALTER DORSEY (1936).....1826 Eye St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
DEAN, JOSEPH WILLIAM (1934).....17 S. 26th St., Camp Hill, Pa.
DEFORD, B. FRANK (1914)..... } 608 W. Franklin St., Richmond, Va.
DEFORD, MRS. B. FRANK (1916)..... }
DENT, LOUIS ADDISON (1905).....3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
DOLAN, JOHN J. (1934).....1323 30th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.

DONALDSON, JOHN W. (1927) ..... Irvington-on-Hudson, Glencoe P. O., New York
DORSEY, VERNON M. (1921) ..... 1346 F St., Washington, D. C.
ELIASON, MRS. JAMES T. (1930) ..... New Castle, Delaware
EVANS, HENRY RIDGELY (1935) ..... 3300 16th St., Washington, D. C.
FISHER, MISS ELIZABETH J. (1932) ..... All States Hotel, Washington, D. C.
FORMAN, HENRY CHANDLEE (1933) ..... Haverford, Pa.
FOSTER, FREDERICK (1921) ..... 84 State St., Boston, Mass.
FRANKLIN, ROBERT S. (1931) ..... Charleston, W. Va.
FRAZER, MRS. JOHN (1936) ..... 8015 Navajo St., Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.
FREEMAN, BERNARD (1916) ..... 975 Baxter St., Athens, Ga.
FRENCH, MRS. W. E. PATTISON (EVELYN EVA SUTTON WEEMS) (1930) ..... 3017 N St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
GARDNER, FRANK WILLIAMS (1934) ..... 1192 Cleveland Ave., Columbus, O.
GARDNER, MRS. PHILIP (1934) ..... 74 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, Mass.
GIFFORD, W. L. R. (1906) ..... St. Louis Mercantile Library Association Missouri
* GILLISS, REV. WILLIAM WEIR (1928) ..... Solomon's, Md.
GLENN, JOHN M. (1905) ..... 1 Lexington Ave., New York City
GOODRICH, THOMAS M. (1933) ..... Hotel Wellington, Albany, N. Y.
GOODRIDGE, MR. EDWIN T. (1936) ..... 111 Broadway, New York City
GORDON, MRS. BURGESS LEE (1916) ..... 1000 15th Ave., Seattle, Wash.
GORDON, MRS. JAMES RIELY (MARY LAMAR SPRIGG) (1934) ..... 159 Corliss Ave., Pelham Heights, New York
GOULD, LYTTLETON B. P. (1936) ..... 120 Broadway, N. Y. C.
GREENLAW, WM. PRESCOTT (1935) ..... 7 Ashburton Place, Boston, Mass.
GREENWAY, MRS. CAROLINE C. (1935) ..... 805 C St., S. W., Washington, D. C.
GRIFFISS, MISS PENELOPE (1936) ..... Hotel Palton, Chattanooga, Tenn.
GRIFFITH, MAJOR CHARLES T., U. S. A. RET. (1934) ..... 6733 Emlen St., Germantown, Pa.
GRONEMEYER, MRS. HENRY H. (1936) ..... Wawaset Park, Wilmington, Delaware
GROOME, H. C. (1926) ..... Airlie, nr. Warrenton, Virginia
GROVE, MRS. J. R. (KATHARINE N.) (1934) ..... 1921 19th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
GUILDAY, REV. PETER, PH. D. (1915) ..... Catholic University, Washington, D. C.
HAGER, FRANK L. (1921) ..... 204 Spring St., Fayette, Mo.
HALSEY, R. T. HAINES (1929) ..... Huntington, N. Y.
HAMILTON, HON. GEORGE E. (1924) ..... Union Trust Bldg., Wash., D. C.
HANNAY, WM. M. (1936) ..... 207 Eye Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
HANSON, MURRAY (1936) ..... 1010 Vermont Ave., Washington, D. C.
HARGETT, ARTHUR V., M. D. (1926) ..... 103 Park Ave., New York City
HARRISON, FAIRFAX (1921) ..... Belvoir, Virginia
HASTINGS, MRS. RUSSEL (1925) ..... 230 E. 50th Street, N. Y. C.
HEADMAN, MRS. MARY HOSS (1934) ..... Haddonfield, N. J.
HEYN, MRS. WALTER (MINNIE WATKINS) (1929) ..... 8 Holland Terr., Montclair, N. J.

HILL, JOHN SPRUNT (1936) ..... 900 Duke St., Durham, N. C.
HILLYER, MRS. GEO. JR. (1927) ..... 159 15th St., N. E., Atlanta, Ga.
HIMES, JOSEPH H. (1935) ..... 1705 K St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
HODGDON, A. DANA (1933) ..... American Consulate General, Berlin, Germany
HOFFMAN, WILMER (1929) ..... 14 Rue Compagne Premiere, Paris, France
HOLMES, G. KIRBY (1937) ..... Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, Pa.
HOOK, JAMES W. (1924) ..... Blake & Vallery Sts., New Haven, Conn.
HOOKER, ROLAND M. (1933) ..... 352 St. Roman St., New Haven, Conn.
HOPKINS, SAMUEL GOVER (1911) ..... 6th & Walnut Sts., Phila., Pa.
HORNER, MRS. HARRIS H. (1936) ..... 6249 S. Throop St., Chicago, Illinois
HOUGH, H. C. TILGHMAN (1925) ..... 180 E. 79th St., New York City
HOUSTON, MISS MARTHA LOW (1936) ..... All States Hotel, Washington, D. C.
* HUDSON, MILLARD F. (1923) ..... Brookmont, Md.
HYNSON, RICHARD WASHBURN (1934) ..... 3435 34th Place, Washington, D. C.
JENNINGS, MRS. FRANK E. (1936) ..... 2505 Oak St., Jacksonville, Florida
JONES, MRS. T. CATESBY (1929) ..... Hewlett, Long Island
JONES, ROBERT C. (1934) ..... Shoreham Bldg., Washington, D. C.
KEECH, COLONEL FRANK B. (1919) ..... 11 Broadway, New York City
KEENE, LT. COL. MARCEL S. (1935) ..... 1 East 60th St., N. Y. C.
KEIDEL, GEO. C., PH. D. (1912) ..... 414 Seward Square, N. E., Wash., D. C.
KEITH, A. L. (1924) ..... Lock Box W., Vermillion, S. Dakota
KELLEY, J. THOMAS, M. D. (1934) ..... 1312 15th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
KEY, SEWALL (1929) ..... University Club, Washington, D. C.
KIMBLE, MISS PEARLE B. (1921) ..... P. O. Box 36, Tulsa, Oklahoma
KUHN, MISS FLORENCE CALVERT (1921) ..... Marmet, W. Va.
LAYTON, MRS. MARY TURPIN (1929) ..... 3925 7th St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
LEACH, MISS MARY ATHERTON (1907) ..... 2118 Spruce St., Phila., Pa.
LEE, JAMES A. (1935) ..... 330 W. 42nd St., N. Y. C.
LEGENDRE, MRS. WM. (1936) ..... 4 E. 62nd St., New York City
LEHR, MRS. LOUIS (1926) ..... Savoy-Plaza Hotel, N. Y. C.
LEWIS, CLIFFORD, 3rd, (1934) ..... 240 S. 4th St., Phila., Pa.
LIBBY, GEORGE F., M. D. (1933) .....
LIBBY, MRS. GEORGE F. (1919) (AUGUSTA MAITLAND CARTER) ..... 913—25th St. San Diego, California
LOWE, W. ELDRIDGE (1936) ..... 45 Grove St., Boston, Mass.
LYDEN, FREDERICK F. (1925) ..... 42 Broadway, New York City
MCADAMS, REV. EDWIN P. (1906) ..... 313 2nd St., S. E., Washington, D. C.
MCCARTY, MRS. IDA HELEN (1936) ..... Pennville, Indiana
MCGREGOR FUND (1937) ..... Detroit, Mich.
* MCGREGOR, TRACY W. (1935) ..... 1901 Wyoming Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
MAIRE, MRS. GERTRUDE HOWARD (1936) ..... Pennsboro, West Virginia.
DEMANDUIT, MRS. PRISCILLA (1936) ..... 2310 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C.
MANGES, MRS. WILLIS F. (MARIE ELSIE BOSLEY) (1934) ..... Moylan, Pa.

MARTIN, MRS. EDWIN S. (1905).....New Straitsville, Ohio
METTEN, J. F. (1936).....N. Y. Shipbldg. Corp., Camden, N. J.
MIDDLETON, HUGH CALHOUN (1936).....314 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
MILLER, RICHARD BATEMAN (1935).....865 1st Ave., New York City
MILLER, WILLIAM ALEXANDER (1932).....911 Monroe St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
MILLS, MRS. BALLINGER (1934).....2908 Ave., O, Galveston, Texas
MISH, MRS. W. F., JR. (1936).....Falling Waters, West Virginia
MOHLER, MRS. V. E. (1921).....St. Albans, W. Va.
MONTGOMERY, MRS. KINGSLEY (1931)....Chester, Penna.
MORSE, CHARLES ROBERT (1936).....145 E. 56th St., N. Y. C.
NEWMAN, HARRY WRIGHT (1932).....1026 16th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
NICKLIN, COL. BENJAMIN PATTEN (1921) { 720 James Blvd., Signal Mountain, Tennessee
OURSLER, MISS MARY C. (1921)..... { 1415 Longfellow St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
* OWEN, F. BUCHANAN (1917).....Guardian Bldg., Cleveland, O.
PAGE, MRS. HENRY, JR. (1919).....4043 Prescott St., Dallas, Texas
* PIERCE, MRS. WINSLOW S. (1915)....."Dunstable," Bayville, Long Island
PRICE, MRS. FLORENCE A. (1934).....100 Maryland Ave., N. E. Wash., D. C.
PRENTICE, MRS. WM. K. (1935)....."Cherry Grove," Princeton, N. J.
RADCLIFFE, WILLIAM WOLLEN (1934)....1415 Glenarm Place, Denver, Colorado
RANCK, SAMUEL H. (1898).....Public Library, Grand Rapids, Mich.
RAYNER, WILLIAM B. (1914).....2641 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C.
REESE, DR. CHARLES LEE (1930).....1600 Brinckle Ave, Wilmington, Del.
REID, MRS. C. R. (1928).....Newtonville, Mass.
REID, LEGH WILBER (1923).....Box 151, Haverford, Penna.
RENSHAW, MRS. ALFRED H. (1927).....Noroton, Connecticut
RINEHART, EVAN (1935).....72 Ivy Way, Port Washington, N. Y.
ROBERTSON, H. C. (1936).....1218 E. Capitol St., Washington, D. C.
ROBERTS, EMERSON B., M. D. (1932).....Wilkinsburg, Penna.
ROGERS, COL. ARTHUR C. (1920).....722—24th St., Arlington, Va.
ROSZEL, MAJOR BRANTZ MAYER (1919).. { Shenandoah Valley Academy, Winchester, Va.
RUTH, THOS. DECOURCEY (1916).....120 Broadway, New York City
SATTERLEE, HERBERT L. (1934).....1 Beekman Place, N. Y. C.
SCISCO, LOUIS DOW (1925).....2022 Columbia Rd., Wash., D. C.
* SCOTT, MRS. JAMES H. (1935).....Monroe Terrace, Richmond, Va.
SELLERS, CHARLES COLEMAN (1936).....Hebron, Connecticut
SETH, FRANK W. (1914).....20 N. Broadway White Plains, N. Y.
SHEPPARD, MRS. HENRIETTA D. (1925)...17 Frederick St., Hanover, Pa.
SILVERSON, MRS. KATHERINE TANEY (1931) ..... } 2655 Lakes of Isle Blvd., Minneapolis, Minn.
SIOUSSAT, ST. GEORGE LEAKIN (1912)....University of Penn., Phila., Pa.
SMITH, EDWARD L. (1936)..... { 3852 Grand Central Terminal Bldg., New York City
SMOOT, LEWIS EGERTON (1921)..... { 2007 Wyoming Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.

SOMERS, WILSON E. (1935).....North Emporia, Va.
SPEAKE, A. HOWARD (1923).....134 Linden Blvd., Brooklyn, N. Y.
STEELE, HEATH (1936).....61 Broadway, New York City
STEINER, DR. WALTER R. (1927).....646 Asylum Ave., Hartford, Conn.
STEPHENSON, MISS JEAN (1929).....Conard Apts., Washington, D. C.
STETSON, MRS. CHARLES W. (1936).....Glencarlyn, Arlington Co., Va.
STEWART, FOSTER (1917).....4037 W. 8th Street, Los Angeles, Cal.
STRIDER, MISS EMMA T. (1927).....1450 Rhode Island Ave., Wash., D. C.
SUDLER, MISS CAROLINA V. (1915).....Calverton Apts., Washington, D. C.
SUMWALT, MRS. MARY H. (1909).....6020 Woodlawn Ave., Chicago, Illinois
SUTLIFF, MRS. S. DANA (1921).....Shippensburg, Pa.
THOMAS, RT. REV. CORNELIUS F. (1933)..St. Patrick's Rectory, Wash., D. C.
THRUSTON, R. C. BALLARD (1917).....Filson Club, Breckinridge St., Louisville, Ky.
TODD, MRS. HENRY ALFRED (1935).....860 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
VAN RENSSELAER, MISS FLORENCE (1926) .....3 E. 82nd St., New York, N. Y.
VEATCH, A. C. (1934).....170 Broadway, N. Y. C.
VIRKUS, FRED. ADAMS (1930).....440 S. Dearborn St., Chicago, Illinois
VOOHEES, E. K. (1929).....101 Marietta St., Atlanta, Ga.
WALLIS, LEONARD G. (1931).....1812 Ontario Pl., Washington, D. C.
WALLIS, MRS. THOMAS SMYTHE (1923)...Cherrydale, Virginia
WATERS, CAMPBELL EASTER (1934).....5812 Chevy Chase Pkwy., Wash., D. C.
WATKINS, KENNEDY C. (1935).....1448 Harvard St., N. W., Wash. D. C.
WATSON, MRS. ALEXANDER MACKENZIE (1920) .....Harrods Creek, Kentucky
WEAVER, JACOB J., JR., M. D. (1889).....1709 S St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
WELLS, MRS. LILLIE SHIPLEY (1934).....3635 Peach St., Erie, Pennsylvania
WHITE, MRS. HARRY (1935).....139 E. 66th Street, N. Y. C.
WHITE, JOHN CAMPBELL (1931).....State Depart., Washington, D. C.
WILSON, SAMUEL M. (1907).....Trust Co. Building, Lexington, Ky.
WINCHESTER, JAMES PRICE (1935).....Wilmington, Delaware
YOUNG, H. J. (1935).....Librarian York County Historical Society, York, Penna.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

Where no P. O. Address is given, Baltimore is understood.

ABERCROMBIE, DR. RONALD T. (1916)....10 Whitfield Rd.
ABRAMS, MICHAEL A., M. D. (1936).....2360 Eutaw Place
ADDISON, JOSEPH (1934).....Mercantile Trust Bldg.
AIKEN, MISS M. VIRGINIA J. (1934)....3015 N. Calvert St.
AKERS, MRS. WARREN M. (1929).....“The Lilacs,” Provincetown, Mass.
ALBAUGH, REV. E. KENNETH (1934)
ALBAUGH, MRS. E. KENNETH (1935) Darlington, Md.
ALBAUGH, MISS MARJORIE (1935).....Pikesville, Md.
ALBEE, MRS. GEORGE (1921).....Laurel, Md.

ALBERT, MRS. J. TAYLOR (1928).....1028 N. Calvert St.
ALEXANDER, CHARLES BUTLER (1923)....Eccleston, Md.
ALLEN, HERVEY (1935).....“Bonfield,” Oxford, Md.
ANDERSON, GEORGE M. (1933).....831 Park Ave.
ANDREWS, MATTHEW PAGE (1911).....849 Park Ave.
* APPOLD, LEMUEL T. (1902).....1010 Fidelity Bldg.
ARROWSMITH, REV. HAROLD N. (1924)....204 St. Martin's Rd., Guilford
ASH, MISS MOLLIE HOWARD (1924).....Elkton, Md.
ATKINSON, MATTHEW S., JR. (1925).....37 South St.
AULD, MISS LAURA CATHERINE (1932)...10 W. Biddle St.
AUSTIN, WALTER F. (1934).....Easton, Md.

BADGER, MRS. A. P. (1927).....1111 Edmondson Ave.
BAER, MICHAEL S. (1920).....1001 N. Calvert St.
BAETJER, CHARLES H. (1936).....4300 Greenway Ave.
BAETJER, EDWIN G. (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
BAETJER, HARRY N. (1936).....1409 Mercantile Trust Bldg.
BAETJER, WALTER A., M. D. (1936).....16 W. Madison St.
BAKER, WILLIAM G., JR. (1916).....Care of Baker, Watts & Co.
BAKER-CROTHERS, DR. HAYES (1936).....Takoma Park, Md.
BAIRD-BENNETT, O. JOSEPHINE, M. D. (1931) ..... } 1028 Connecticut Ave., Wash., D. C.
BALDWIN, CHAS. W., D. D. (1919).....226 W. Lafayette Ave.
BALDWIN, MRS. HENRY DUPONT (MARGARET EYRE TAYLOR) (1937)..... } ..100 W. University Parkway
BALDWIN, JOHN ASHBY (1935).....1302 John St.
BALDWIN, MISS MARIA (1931).....226 W. Lafayette Ave.
BALDWIN, MISS ROSA E. (1923).....3951 Cloverdale Road
BALDWIN, MISS SARAH R. (1929).....101 E. 72nd St., N. Y. C.
BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD, JR. (1928).....117 W. Baltimore St.
BALDWIN, WM. WOODWARD (1924).....926 Cathedral St.
BANDLE, MISS AGNUS (1936).....Reistertown, Maryland
BANKS, MISS ELIZABETH (1926).....2119 Bolton St.
BARKER, MRS. LEWELLYS F. (LILIAN HALSEY) (1931)..... } 208 Stratford Rd.
BARNES, G. HARRY (1936).....Homewood Apts.
BARNES, WALTER D. (1928).....3603 Calloway Ave.
BARRETT, HENRY C. (1902).....“The Severn”
BARROLL, L. WETHERED (1910).....1412 Equitable Bldg.
BARROLL, MORRIS KEENE (1917).....Chestertown, Md.
* BARTLETT, FREDERICK R. (1935).....Easton, Md.
BARTON, CARLYLE (1924).....800 Baltimore Life Bldg.
BARTON, MRS. CARLYLE (Isabel R. T.) (1929) ..... } Ruxton, Maryland
BARTON, RANDOLPH, JR. (1915).....806 Mercantile Trust
BASSETT, DR. SARAH JANET (1936).....3218 Fait Ave.
BAUGH, MRS. FREDERICK H. (1922).....207 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park

BAUGHMAN, MRS. L. VICTOR (1931).....Frederick, Md.
BAYARD, MISS ELLEN HOWARD (1928)....1208 St. Paul St.
BAYLIES, MISS SARAH STONE (1929).....5 E. 33rd St.
BEAN, MISS MARY CLOUD (1930).....16 E. Biddle St.
BEATTY, MRS. AHFORDBY (1910).....Bradenton, Florida
BECK, MRS. HARVEY G. (1936).....215 Northway, Guilford
BECK, HOWARD C. (1918).....2702 Lyndhurst Ave.
BEERS, WALTER W. (1924).....3000 Reisterstown Rd.
BEEUWKES, C. JOHN (1924).....1706 First National Bank
BEIRNE, MRS. FRANCIS F. (1935).....Ruxton, Md.
BELT, WILLIAM G. (1936).....613 Reservoir St.
BENNETT, MISS SARAH E. (1930).....2019 Eutaw Place
BENSON, HARRY L. (1910).....3106 Evergreen Ave., Hamilton
BENSON, MRS. WM. (1924).....Blackistone Apts.
BERKLEY, HENRY J., M. D. (1900).....1305 Park Ave.
BERRY, MRS. EDWARD W. (1931).....19 Elmwood Rd., Roland Park
BEVAN, H. CROMWELL (1902).....1317 Park Ave.
BIBBINS, MRS. A. B.....2600 Maryland Ave.
BISHOP, WILLIAM R. (1916).....12 E. 27th St.
BLACK, HARRY C., JR. (1920).....Fidelity Building
BLACK, MRS. VAN LEAR (1921).....1205 Eutaw Place
BLACK, WILMER (1935).....1201 Garrett Bldg.
BLAKISTON, MRS. BUCHANAN (JESSIE GAREY BLACK) (1921).....Hurstleigh Ave., Woodbrooke
BLAND, MRS. WILLIAM B. (1935).....Sparks, Md.
BLUNT, ROYDEN A. (1936).....Dorsey Hall Farm, Ellicott City
BOGGS, THOMAS R., M. D. (1931).....1013 N. Calvert St.
BOND, CARROLL T. (1916).....3507 N. Charles St.
BOND, DUKE (1919).....Charles & Read Sts.
BOND, EUGENE A. (1936).....Pikesville, Md.
BONSAL, LEIGH (1902).....511 Calvert Building
BOONE, JAMES R. HERBERT (1934)...
BOONE, MRS. JAMES R. HERBERT (MURIEL H. WURTS-DUNDAS) (1934)...765 Park Ave., N. Y. C.
BORDEN, MRS. E. M. (1936).....Washington Apts.
BORDLEY, DR. JAMES, JR. (1914).....Charlcote Place
BOSWORTH, MRS. C. W. (BEATRICE) (1929).....2109 N. Calvert St.
BOUCHET, CHARLES J. (1921).....206 E. Biddle St.
BOULDEN, MRS. CHAS. NEWTON (1916)....3507 N. Charles St.
BOUSE, JOHN H., M. D. (1926).....317 S. Ann St.
BOUTON, MRS. EDWARD H. (1933).....The Poplars
BOWDOIN, MRS. HENRY J. (JULIA MORRIS) (1930).....Lawyers Hill, Relay, Md.
BOWE, DR. DUDLEY PLEASANTS (1927)....2 W. Read St.
BOWEN, H. LEE, PH. D. (1934).....3923 Cloverhill Rd.
BOWEN, JESSE N. (1916).....2500 Balto. Trust Bldg.

BOWIE, CLARENCE K. (1916).....Mercantile Trust Bldg.
BOWIE, FORREST DODGE (1936).....Mt. Lubentia, R. F. D., Benning, D. C.
BOWIE, MISS LUCIA LEIGH (1936)..... 1277 New Hampshire Ave., Washington, D. C.
BOWIE, MRS. RICHMOND IRVING (EFFIE GWYNN) (1934)..... "Beechwood," Upper Marlboro, Md.
BOWLES, MRS. THOMAS H. (1931).....5 Whitfield Rd., Guilford
BOWMAN, ISAIAH (1936).....Oak Place, Charles St.
BOYCE, FRED. G., JR. (1916).....4102 Greenway, Guilford
BOYCE, HEYWARD E. (1912).....Maryland Trust Company
BOYER, REV. A., S. S. (1935).....St. Mary's Seminary, Paca St.
BOYKIN, MRS. M. IRWIN (1933).....Greenway Apts.
BRANDT, JACKSON (1935)..... Wyman Park Apts.
BRANDT, MRS. JACKSON (1935).....
BRENT, MRS. DUNCAN K. (1922).....Ruxton, Md.
BRENT, MRS. ROBERT F. (1916).....The St. Paul Apts.
BREWER, WM. TREANOR (1928).....4205 Penhurst Ave.
BROWN, ALEXANDER (1902)....."Mondawmin," Liberty Heights Ave.
BROWN, MRS. THOMAS R. (1936).....14 Whitfield Rd.
*BROWN, W. MCCULLOH (1919).....10 W. Hamilton St.
BROWNE, REV. LEWIS BEEMAN (1907)....St. John's Rectory, Frostburg, Md.
BROWNE, MARY N., M. D. (1919).....1505 Park Ave.
BROYLES, MRS. EDWIN NASH (1936).....4405 Bedford Place
BRUCE, HOWARD..... Bartlett Hayward & Co., P. O. Box 1191
BRUCE, WM. CABELL (1909).....Ruxton, Md.
BRUCE, MRS. WM. CABELL (1920).....Ruxton, Md.
BRUN, B. LUCIEN, D. D. S. (1936).....827 Park Ave.
BRUNE, FRED W. (1929).....2500 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
BRUNE, H. M. (1902).....Calvert Bldg.
BUCHANAN, THOMAS GITTINGS (1917)....Garrett Bldg.
BUCK, WALTER H. (1926).....609 Union Trust Bldg.
BUCKEY, MRS. WM. G. (1931).....1815 Park Ave.
BUCKINGHAM, E. G. (1927).....1019 Winding Way, R. P.
BUCKINGHAM, MRS. WILLIAM A. (1920)...Washington Apts.
BULL, MRS. CARROLL G. (ZELMA MELISSA SMITH) (1937).....3021 N. Calvert St.
BURNETT, PAUL M. (1935).....Charles & Chase Sts.
BUTTERFIELD, CLEMENT F. (1927).....2723 N. Charles St.

CADWALADER, THOMAS F. (1934).....217 W. Lanvale St.
CAIRNES, MISS LAURA J. (1923).....4008 Roland Ave.
CAMPBELL, MILTON (1935).....Easton, Md.
CANDLER, MISS OTIE SEYMOUR (1923)....5515 Roland Ave.
CAREY, CHARLES H. (1919).....2220 N. Charles St.
CARMAN, MRS. STANLEY (1936).....1617 Linden Ave.
CARMINE, MISS MARGARET B. (1930)....Hopkins Apartments

CARR, MRS. CHEVER (1923).....2615 Maryland Ave.
CARR, MRS. ROBERT H. (1929).....653 University Pkwy.
CARROLL, DOUGLAS GORDON (1913).....Brooklandville, Md.
CARROLL, MISS LOUISE E. (1935).....Chestertown, Md.
CARROLL, MISS M. GRACE (1923).....Roland Park Apts.
CARROLL, PHILIP A. (1936).....55 Wall St., New York City
CARTER, MISS SALLY RANDOLPH (1923)...204 W. Monument St.
CARTON, MRS. LAWRENCE R. (1935)....."Poppintry House," Towson, Md.
CARVER, MRS. DAVID J. (1935).....217 Chancery Rd., Guilford
CASSELL, W. BARRY (1934).....Brooklandville, Md.
CASTLE, MRS. GUY W. S. (1932).....Oxon Hill, Md.
CATHCART, MAXWELL (1922).....1408 Park Ave.
CHALFANT, MRS. ARCHIBALD STUART (1935) ..... } 6205 York Road
CHAMBERLAINE, REV. ALWARD (1925).....Centerville, Md.
CHAPMAN, JAMES W., JR. (1916).....214 Northway, Guilford
CHATARD, DR. J. ALBERT (1929).....1300 N. Calvert St.
CHESNUT, MRS. W. CALVIN (1923).....Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
CHESNUT, W. CALVIN (1897).....Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
CHINARD, GILBERT, PH. D. (1935).....Univ. of California, Berkeley, Calif.
CLARK, MISS ANNA E. B. (1914).....The St. Paul Apartments
CLARK, MISS BERTHA L. (1930).....106 Woodlawn, Roland Park
CLARK, ERNEST J. (1931).....211 Highfield Rd.
CLARK, MRS. GAYLORD LEE (1928).....Stevenson, Md.
CLARK, LOUIS T. (1929).....Ellicott City
CLARK, WALTER L. (1921).....1914 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
CLEMSON, CHARLES O. (1928).....Westminster, Maryland
CLEVELAND, RICHARD F. (1925).....Balto. Trust Bldg.
CLOSE, PHILIP H. (1916).....Bel Air, Md.
COALE, JOSEPH M. (1930).....225 E. Redwood St.
COALE, MRS. WM. ELLIS (1936).....1 E. University Pkwy.
COE, WARD B. (1920).....Fidelity Building
COHEN, MISS ELEANOR S. (1917).....The Latrobe
COHN, CHARLES M. (1919).....Lexington Bldg.
COHN, MRS. E. HERRMAN (DORIS MASLIN) (1930) ..... } Princess Anne, Maryland
COLE, J. WESLEY, M. D. (1931).....2202 Garrison Ave.
COLE, HON. WILLIAM P. (1936).....Towson, Md.
COLEMAN, WILLIAM C. (1916).....U. S. District Court, P. O. Bldg.
COLLENBERG, MRS. HENRY T. (1928).....114 Witherspoon Rd.
CONE, MRS. SYDNEY M. (1936).....Maple Lawn, Pikesville, Md.
CONN, MRS. WILLIAM TIPTON (1936).....Northway Apts.
CONNOLLY, GERALD C. (1919).....1116 N. Eutaw St.
CONNOLLY, JAMES E., M. D. (1923).....1116 N. Eutaw St.
COOK, MRS. GRAFFLIN (1936).....Northway Apts.
COOK, MISS JANE JAMES.....Stevenson, Md.
COOKE, MRS. MIRIAM BALDWIN (1930)....Waterbury, Md.

COONAN, EDWARD V. (1907).....121 W. Lafayette Ave.
COOPER, J. CROSSAN (1912).....Stock Exchange Building
CORIELL, DR. LEWIS (1927).....111 W. Monument St.
CORKRAN, MRS. BENJAMIN W. (1919)....Warrington Apts.
CORNER, GEO. W. (1917).....3902 Juniper Rd., Guilford
COTTEN, BRUCE (1912).....Mt. Washington
COTTON, MRS. FREDERICK J. (JANE BALDWIN) (1896)..... Waterbury, Md.
COUDON, JOSEPH (1920).....Perryville, Md.
COUDON, JOSEPH of "H," (1934).....Perryville, Md.
CRAIN, MRS. BENNETT (1934).....4414 Underwood Rd.
CRANWELL, J. H. (1895).....1622 Park Ave.
CRANWELL, JOHN PHILIPS (1936).....1622 Park Ave.
CROKER, MRS. EDWARD J. (1922).....101 Woodlawn Rd.
CROMWELL, MRS. W. KENNEDY (1916)....Lake Roland
CRONIN, MRS. W. H. (1932).....Aberdeen, Md.
CROOKS, MISS ESTHER J. (1933).....Goucher College
CULL, MISS MABEL F. (1930).....1314 Bolton St.
CULLEN, DR. THOS. S. (1926).....20 E. Eager St.
CULVER, FRANCIS BARNUM (1910).....4709 Roland Ave.
* CULVER, JOHN K. (1925).....Mt. Washington, Md.
CUTLER, GEO. C. (1936).....Garrison, Md.

DABNEY, DR. WILLIAM M. (1916).....Ruxton, Md.
DAINGERFIELD, MRS. P. B. KEY (1925)....4407 N. Charles St.
DALLAM, C. BRAXTON (1924).....4001 Greenway
DALSHEIMER, SIMON (1909).....The Lord Baltimore Press
DALTON, JOSEPH C. (1932).....Sparks, Maryland
DAMUTH, REV. WARREN K. (1923).....Thurmont, Md.
DARNALL, RICHARD BENNETT (1933).....Ruxton, Maryland
DASHIELL, BENJAMIN J. (1914).....Towson, Maryland
DASHIELL, MISS MARY LEEKE (1934).....Pheonix, Maryland
DASHIELL, N. LEEKE, M. D. (1904).....2927 St. Paul St.
DASHIELL, MRS. NICHOLAS L. (1922).....2927 St. Paul St.
DAVES, JOHN COLLINS (1923).....136 W. Lanvale St.
DAVIS, MRS. ALLEN A. (1934).....34 E. Melrose Ave.
DAVIS, E. ASBURY (1924).....119-21 S. Howard St.
DAVIS, DR. J. STAIGE (1916).....215 Wendover Rd., Guilford
DAVIS, DR. S. GRIFFITH (1935).....220 Chancery St.
DAVIS, DR. W. W. (1921).....Box 724, Baltimore, Md.
DAVISON, MISS ELIZABETH T. (1925).....Cecil Apts.
DAVISON, MISS CAROLINA V. (1925).....Cecil Apts.
DAY, MISS MARY FORMAN (1907)..... The Donald, 1523 22nd St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
DEFORD, MRS. ROBERT B. (DOROTHEA HOFFMAN) (1934) ..... Towson, Md.
DELAPLAINE, EDWARD S. (1920).....Frederick, Md.

DELL, THOS. MEDAIRY ..... Homewood Apts.
DENISON, H. MARCUS (1923) ..... 10 E. Read St.
DENMEAD, GARNER WOOD (1923) ..... 227 St. Paul St.
DENNIS, MRS. JAMES T. (1923) ..... 1002 N. Calvert St.
DENNIS, JAMES U. (1907) ..... 2 E. Lexington St.
* DENNIS, JOHN M. (1919) ..... Union Trust Bldg.
DENNIS, OREGON MILTON (1922) ..... New Amsterdam Bldg.
DENNIS, SAMUEL K. (1905) ..... Court House
DETRICK, MISS LILLIE (1919) ..... 104 E. Biddle St.
DIELMAN, LOUIS H. (1905) ..... Peabody Institute
DIXON, JAMES (1926) ..... Easton, Maryland
DODSON, HERBERT K. (1909) ..... 344 N. Charles St.
DOEBLER, VALENTINE S. (1922) ..... Greenway and St. Martin's Rd.
DOEHLER, EDWARD A. (1935) ..... 1043 Aisquith St.
DONN, EDWARD W., JR. (1935) ..... 10 E. Bradley Lane, Chevy Chase, Md.
DONNELLY, EDWARD A. (1919) ..... 213 N. Calvert St.
DORSEY, DR. CALEB, JR. (1927) ..... 1659 W. North Ave.
DOWNEY, DR. JESSE W., JR. (1929) ..... 209 Hawthorne Rd.
DRYDEN, THOS. P. (1930) ..... 6212 Blackburn Lane, Cedarcroft
DUER, THOMAS MARSHALL (1935) ..... 3909 Canterbury Rd.
DUFFY, EDWARD (1920) ..... 138 W. Lanvale St.
DUFFY, MRS. ELEANOR BERNARD (1927) ... 110 W. North Ave.
DUFFY, HENRY (1916) ..... 110 W. North Ave.
DUGAN, MISS MARY COALE (1919) ..... 124 W. Lanvale St.
DUKE, W. BERNARD (1909) ..... Valley Lee, Md.
DUKEHART, MORTON MCL. (1920) ..... 2744 N. Calvert St.
DUKER, MRS. J. EDWARD (1923) ..... 3904 N. Charles Street
DULANY, MRS. JOSEPHINE LANAHAN (1936) ..... Washington Apts.
DUNAHUE, MRS. WILBUR C. (1923) ..... 1620 Bolton St.
DUNOTT, MRS. DANIEL Z. (1926) ..... 1005 N. Calvert St.
DUNTON, WM. RUSH, JR., M. D. (1902) .... Harlem Lodge, Catonsville, Md.
DURRELL, PERCY BROOKS (1935) ..... 2206 Roslyn Ave.
DUVALL, MRS. RICHARD M. ..... 2905 N. Charles St.

EARECKSON, F. LEIF (1928) ..... 23 S. Hanover St.
EASTER, MRS. JAMES W. (ANITA T.) (1929) ..... Owings Mills, Md.
EDMONDSON, MRS. FRANK GORDON (1928)
EDMONDSON, J. HOOPER (1928) ..... Roland Park Apts.
EDMONDSON, W. W. JR. .....
EDWARDS, MRS. CHARLES REID (1935) .... 106 Longwood Rd.
EDWARDS, MRS. EDMUND P. (1928) ..... Mt. Vernon Club
EGERTON, STUART (1919) ..... 106 Elmhurst Rd.
ELLICOTT, CHARLES E. (1918) ..... Melvale, Md.
ELLICOTT, WILLIAM M. (1929) .....
ELLICOTT, MRS. WM. M. (1929) ..... 714 St. Paul St.

ELLINGER, ESTHER PARKER (1922).....12 W. 25th St.
ELLIS, EDWARD D., M. D. (1936).....107 St. Dunstan's Rd.
EMMART, WM. W. (1924).....Union Trust Bldg.
* EMORY, WILLIAM H. (1929).....1307 Bolton St.
ENGLAR, GEORGE MONROE (1928)..... Roland Park Apts.
EVANS, MRS. ELLA WARFIELD (1924).....109 Woodlawn Rd.
EVANS, MRS. Z. BOND, JR. (1933)....
EVANS, Z. BOND, JR. (1934).....} ..900 E. Preston St.

FALCONER, CHAS. E. (1915).....1630 Bolton St.
FENHAGEN, G. CORNER (1918).....325 N. Charles St.
FENHAGEN, JAMES C. (1927).....c/o Baltimore National Bank
FENWICK, G. BERNARD (1929).....Glyndon, Md.
FERGUSON, MRS. ALICE L. L. (1936).....Accokeek, Md.
FICKUS, HENRY J. (1927).....4506 Mainfield Ave.
FINDLAY, MISS MARY P. B. (1930).....1510 Bolton St.
FINLEY, MRS. W. NORVILLE (1930).....Allston Apts.
FINNEY, MISS CATHERINE (1934).....937 St. Paul St.
FISHER, D. K. E. (1916).....1301 Park Ave.
FISHER, SAMUEL J. (1932).....Union Trust Bldg.
FISHER, DR. WM. A. (1924).....715 Park Ave.
FITZGERALD, CHARLES G. (1923).....3507 N. Charles St.
FLEMING, MISS ELIZABETH BOYD (1925)...Canterbury Hall Apartments
FLORENCE, NELLIE G. (1931).....Brentwood P. O., Md.
FOCKE, FERDINAND B. (1925).....1718 Bolton St.
FOOKS, MAJOR HERBERT C. (1921).....723 Munsey Building
FORBES, GEORGE (1924).....601 Maryland Trust Building
FOSTER, JAMES (1935).....203 Oakdale Rd.
FOWLER, MISS AMELIE DE PAU (1927)....Oak Place, Charles St. Ave.
FOWLER, LAURENCE HALL (1919).....347 N. Charles St.
FOX, J. LAWRENCE (1935).....16 E. Lexington St.
FRANCE, JACOB (1926).....Calvert Building
FRANCE, MRS. JACOB (1926).....Catonsville, Md.
FRANCE, JOSEPH C. (1928).....Court Square Bldg.
FRANK, ELI (1923).....North and 4th Aves., Mt. Wash.
FRANKLIN, MRS. BENJAMIN (1921).....104 W. 39th St.
FREEMAN, DR. E. B. (1926).....807 Cathedral St.
FREEMAN, J. DOUGLAS (1914).....203 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
FRENCH, H. FINDLAY (1929).....2303 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
FRENCH, DR. JOHN C. (1924).....416 Cedarcroft Road
FRICK, FRED. M. (1936).....609 Keyser Bldg.
FRICK, GEORGE ARNOLD (1914).....20 E. Lexington St.
FRICK, MISS SUSAN CARROLL POULTNEY (1937) .....} ..1523 Bolton St.
FRIEDENWALD, HARRY, M. D. (1919).....1212 Eutaw Place
FRIEDENWALD, JULIUS, M. D. (1919).....1013 N. Charles St.
* FULFORD, ALEXANDER M. (1934).....Bel Air, Md.

GAIL, MRS. GEO. WM. (1935).....Ruxton, Md.
GAITHER, CHARLES D. (1919).....Earl Court Apts.
GALE, WALTER R. (1921).....241 W. Lanvale St.
* GAMBEL, MRS. THOS. B. (1915).....Homewood Apts.
GAMBRILL, MRS. CHANCEY (GABRIELLE E.) (1935)..... } Northway Apts.
GARCELON, MRS. HERBERT I. (1924).....Severna Park, Anne Arundel Co., Md.
GARRETT, JOHN W. (1898).....4545 N. Charles St.
GARRETT, MRS. ROBERT (1928)..... } Charles St. and Wyndhurst Ave.
GARRETT, ROBERT (1898)..... }
GEORGE, MRS. THOMAS STEVENS (ESTHER RIDGELY) (1934)..... } Towson, Md.
GIBBS, JOHN S., JR. (1914).....Lakeside, Md.
GIBBS, MRS. RUFUS M. (1924).....1209 St. Paul St.
GILL, MRS. ROBERT LEE (1924).....4708 Club Road
GILLELAND, MRS. MARION A. (1936).....2017 E. North Ave.
GILPIN, MRS. ARTHINGTON, JR. (1935)....7 Gittings Ave.
GILLIS, DR. ANDREW G. (1923).....1033 N. Calvert St.
GITTINGS, MISS VICTORIA (1920).....231 W. Preston St.
GLENN, JOHN, JR. (1915).....1103 N. Eutaw St.
GLIDDEN, EDWARD HUGHES (1934).....18 E. Lexington St.
GOLDSBOROUGH, PHILLIPS LEE (1915).....Tudor Arms Apts.
GORDON, MRS. ALEXANDER H. (1916).....1009 N. Charles St.
GORDON, DOUGLAS H. (1928).....100 E. Chase St.
GORMAN, MRS. GRACE NORRIS (1923).....Laurel, Md.
GORTER, JAMES P. (1902).....121 Taplow Rd.
GOUGH, MRS. I. PIKE (1916).....Hopkins Apts.
GRAHAM, ALBERT D. (1915).....First National Bank
GRAHAM, BOYD B. (1936).....4310 St. Paul St.
GRAHAM, R. WALTER, SR. (1936).....4310 St. Paul St.
GRAHAM, R. WALTER, JR., M. D. (1935)...700 Cathedral St.
GRAHAM, ROBERT LEE (1936).....4310 St. Paul
GRAMKOW, MRS. FRANK (EMMA WARFIELD) (1919)..... } ..22 E. Eager St.
GREEN, ELMER S. (1934).....54 Ridge Rd., Yonkers, N. Y.
GREEN, HARRY B. (1935).....Balto. Trust Bldg.
GREENFIELD, KENT ROBERTS, PH. D. (1934)..... } Tudor Arms Apts.
GREENWAY, MISS ELIZABETH W. (1917)...2322 N. Charles St.
GREENWAY, WILLIAM H. (1886).....2322 N. Charles St.
GREGG, MAURICE (1886).....719 N. Charles St.
GRISWOLD, ALEXANDER BROWN (1935).....Monkton, Md.
GRISWOLD, B. HOWELL, JR. (1913).....Alex. Brown & Sons

HALL, MISS ADELPHINE (1928).....5304 Springlake Way
HALL, CARY D., JR. (1919).....706 Fidelity Bldg.
HALL, MISS ROSABEL E. (1928).....2406 Kenoak Ave., Mt. Washington

HALL, DR. WILLIAM S. (1922).....215 Woodlawn Rd., Roland Park
HAMBLETON, MRS. F. S. (1907).....Hambledune, Lutherville, Md.
HAMMAN, MRS. LOUIS (1923).....315 Overhill Rd.
HAMMOND, EDWARD (1923).....140 W. Lanvale St.
HAMMOND, EDWARD HOPKINS (1923).....Union Trust Bldg.
HANCOCK, JAMES E. (1907).....2122 St. Paul St.
HANN, CHARLES K. (1936).....First National Bank
HANSON, AQUILLA BROWN (1928).....3622 Greenmount Ave.
HARDINGE, MR. AND MRS. HAROLD, JR. (1932).....2450 Eutaw Pl.
HARLAN, HENRY D., LL. D. (1894).....Fidelity Building
HARLAN, MRS. HENRY D. (1928).....4909 Falls Rd.
HARPER, GEORGE HOUSTON (1921).....3405 Greenway
HARRIS, MISS HELEN NICHOLSON (1928)..St. Paul Apts.
HARRIS, NORRIS (1927).....
HARRIS, MRS. NORRIS (1926).....2906 Alameda Blvd.
HARRIS, W. HALL (1883).....Title Building
HARRIS, MRS. W. HALL (ALICE PATTERSON) (1919).....11 East Chase St.
HARRISON, DR. EDMUND P. H., JR. (1934).....2 East 33rd St.
HARRISON, GEORGE (1915).....2730 N. Charles St.
HARRISON, J. EDWARD (1915).....2127 Bolton St.
HARRISON, MISS REBEKAH (1919).....Ellicott City, Md.
HARRISON, ROBERT (1936).....Garrison, Md.
HART, ROBERT S. (1923).....101 W. Monument St.
HAUSHALTER, REV. WALTER MILTON, D. D. (1937).....Cambridge Arms
HAXALL, J. TRIPLETT (1935).....1037 St. Paul St.
HAYDEN, MRS. LEWIS M. (1927).....2010 Park Ave.
HAYDON, F. STANSBURY (1930).....
HAYDON, MRS. W. H. (ELLEN PAGE) (1930).....Riderwood, Md.
HAYES, ROBERT F., JR. (1923).....3526 Roland Ave.
HAYWARD, F. SIDNEY (1897).....Harwood Ave., Govans, Md.
HECHT, MISS BEATRICE MAE (1936).....Arlington Park Apts.
HELFENSTEIN, REV. EDWARD T. (1920)....409 N. Charles St.
HENDERSON, CHARLES F. (1919).....Continental Trust Bldg.
HENDERSON, GEORGE (1934).....Cumberland, Md.
HENDERSON, MRS. LOUISA P. (1919).....Cumberland, Md.
HENRY, DANIEL M. (1923).....Easton, Maryland
HENRY, MRS. M. LYNN (1928).....Linthicum Heights, Md.
HENRY, MRS. ROBERTA B. (1914).....“Myrtle Grove,” Easton, Md.
HERRING, THOMAS R. (1919).....10 South St.
HEWES, M. WARNER (1922).....2315 Maryland Ave.
HICKS, T. RUSSELL (1929).....106 W. Madison St.
HILKEN, H. G. (1889).....4 Bishop’s Road, Guilford

HILL, JOHN PHILIP (1899).....3 East Franklin St.
HILLES, MRS. WILLIAM S. (1934).....Millbrooke Rd., Guilford
HINES, REV. CHARLES J. (1922).....27 S. Ellwood Ave.
HINKLEY, JOHN (1900).....215 N. Charles St.
* HISKY, THOS. FOLEY (1888).....Maple Ave., Catonsville
HITCHCOCK, ELLA SPRAGUE (1919).....219 City Hall
HOEN, ALBERT B. (1935).....100 Ridgewood Rd.
HOEN, ALFRED T. (1934).....10 Midvale Road
HOFF, MRS. VIOLET B. (1924).....4202 Somerset Place
HOGAN, DR. JOHN F. (1929).....7 East Preston St.
HOLBEINE, SISTER M. CLOTILDE (1933)..Holy Trinity Convent, Georgetown, Washington, D. C.
HOLDCRAFT, MEHRLING (1930).....204 N. Payson St.
HOLLAND, MISS EUGENIA (1934).....4713 Roland Ave.
HOLLAND, MRS. WILLIAM W. (1929).....4713 Roland Ave.
HOLLANDER, JACOB H., PH. D. (1895).....1802 Eutaw Place
HOLLY, MISS NETTA E. (1934).....Havre de Grace, Md.
HOLLYDAY, MISS CAROLINE R. (1926).....Winona Apts.
HOLLYDAY, RICHARD C. (1929).....Easton, Md.
HOLT, W. STULL, PH. D. (1934).....205 Cedarcroft Rd.
HOMER, MRS. JANE ABELL (1909).....Riderwood, Md.
HOOFF, MISS MARY STABLER (1922).....1205 Linden Ave.
HOOPES, MISS BLANCHE L. (1935).....Blackstone Apts.
HOOPES, FANNIE E., M. D. (1927).....Homewood Apts.
HOOPES, MISS M. ELLA (1935).....Homewood Apts.
HOPE, MISS EDITH (1936).....6 East Read St.
HOPKINS, MRS. MABEL FORD (1924).....2 Wyndhurst Ave.
HOPKINS, W. WILEY (1935).....Bel Air, Md.
HOPPER, CHARLES COX (1930).....1405 John St.
HORINE, CYRUS F., M. D. (1935).....3907 N. Charles St.
HOUGH, MISS ANNE EDMONDSON (1928)...212 Lambeth Rd., Guilford
HOWARD, CHARLES MCHENRY (1902).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, CHARLES MORRIS (1907).....1010 Munsey Bldg.
HOWARD, JOHN D. (1917).....209 W. Monument St.
HOWARD, JOHN EAGER of B. (1936).....Joppa Rd., Towson
HOWARD, MISS JULIA MCHENRY (1927)901 St. Paul St.
HOWARD, MISS MAY (1927).....901 St. Paul St.
HOWELL, G. ROBERT (1935).....Fidelity Bldg.
HOWELL, WILLIAM H., M. D. (1935).....112 St. Dunstan's Rd.
HOWELL, WILLIAM R., PH. D. (1929).....402 Washington Ave., Chestertown, Md.
HOYE, CHARLES E. (1931).....Oakland, Md.
HOYT, WILLIAM DANA, JR. (1930).....2019 Maryland Ave.
HUBBARD, THOMAS F. (1928).....3324 Ellerslie Ave.
HUBBARD, WILBUR W. (1915).....Chestertown, Md.
HUBNER, WILLIAM R. (1920).....Safe Deposit and Trust Co.
HUGHES, THOMAS (1886).....1018 Cathedral St.
HUNTER, S. A. DULANY (1936).....119 Brookside Drive, Kenwood, Md.

HUTCHINS, MISS KATHERINE K. (1928)...142 W. Lanvale St.
HUTZLER, ALBERT D. (1936).....“Pomana,” Pikesville, Md.
HYDE, ENOCH PRATT (1906).....3507 N. Charles St.
HYNSON, W. GEORGE (1925).....U. S. F. & G. Co.

IGLEHART, MRS. C. IREDELL (1927).....914 N. Charles St.
IGLEHART, MISS M. LUCKETT (1931).....218 Laurens St.
IJAMS, MISS ELLA (1933).....3702 Mohawk Ave.
IJAMS, MRS. GEORGE W. (1913).....Church Home Infirmary
INGLE, MISS ELIZA (1934).....1710 Park Ave.
INGLE, WILLIAM (1909).....1710 Park Ave.
IRISH, FREDERIC J. (1935).....4207 Underwood Road
ISAACS, MISS BERTHA P. (1934).....“Maplewood,” Elk Ridge, Md.
ISRAEL, MISS ELLEN C. (1934).....701 Cathedral St.

JACKSON, MRS. GEORGE S. (1910).....Garrison, Md.
JACKSON, MAYOR HOWARD W. (1937)..
JACKSON, MRS. HOWARD W. (1936)...} 5222 Springlake Way
JACOBS, FRANK, ESQ. (1935).....Bel Air, Md.
* JACOBS, MRS. HENRY BARTON (1916)....11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JACOBS, HENRY BARTON, M. D. (1903)....11 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JAMES, MAGILL (1934).....3434 University Place
JAMES, NORMAN (1903).....2305 Ruscombe Ave.
JAMISON, J. VINCENT, JR. (1936).....Hagerstown, Md.
JANNEY, STUART S. (1924).....1635 Baltimore Trust Bldg.
JANNEY, MRS. STUART S. (1936).....Garrison, Md.
JARMAN, MISS MARTHA F. (1934).....Princess Anne, Md.
JEFFERY, MRS. ELMORE BERRY (1933).....307 Somerset Rd.
JENCKS, FRANCIS HAYNES (1935).....
JENCKS, MRS. FRANCIS HAYNES (1935).} 113 W. Mulberry St.
JENCKS, MRS. FRANCIS M. (1924).....1 W. Mt. Vernon Place
JENIFER, THOMAS MITCHELL (1935).....Towson, Md.
JENKINS, M. ERNEST (1924).....Lake Ave., Roland Park, P. O.
JENKINS, THOMAS COURTNEY (1936).....Stevenson, Md.
JOHNSON, MRS. EDWARD M. (1924).....843 University Pkwy.
JOHNSON, MISS MARY LOUISE (1935).....Frederick, Md.
JOHNSTON, MRS. JOHN EDWARD (1936)....Charlcote House, Guilford
JOHNSTON, MRS. LOLA E. (1929).....105 Charlcote Rd.
JOHNSTONE, MISS EMMA E. (1910).....Greenway Apts.
JONES, ARTHUR LAFAYETTE (1911).....1516 Bolton St.
JONES, DR. ELISHA (1902).....25 Penna. Ave., Towson, Md.
JONES, MISS RUTH (1932).....Hopkins Apts.
JOSEPH, MISS JEANNETTE (1936).....1513 Eutaw Place
JOYCE, MRS. J. C. (1936).....Iris Hill-on-Severn, Arnold P. O., Md.
JOYCE, TEMPLE N. (1927).....Joyce Sta., Md.
JUDIK, MRS. J. HENRY (1918).....3906 St. Paul St.

KATZ, JOSEPH (1935) ..... 7201 Park Heights Ave.
KEATING, MRS. ARTHUR B. (1932) (LOUISE OGLE BEALL) ..... } Latrobe Apartments
KEECH, MRS. CAROLINA PAGON (1924) .... 203 Ridgewood Road, Roland Park
KEECH, EDW. P., JR. (1909) ..... 900-901 Maryland Trust Building
KEIDEL, ALBERT, M. D. (1936) ..... 804 Medical Arts Bldg.
KELLY, HOWARD A., M. D. (1919) ..... 1418 Eutaw Place
KELLUM, WILLIAM H. (1935) ..... 2633 N. Charles St.
KEMP, ERNEST W. (1935) ..... 333 St. Paul Place
KEYS, MISS JANE G. (1905) ..... 208 E. Lanvale St.
KEYSER, H. IRVINE, 2ND (1928) ..... 4103 St. Paul St.
KEYSER, W. IRVINE (1917) ..... Stevenson, Md.
* KEYSER, WILLIAM, JR. (1925) ..... Keyser Building
KIDDER, HERRICK F. (1935) ..... McDonough, Md.
KING, MRS. AUBREY (1936) ..... 200 Northfield Place
KIRKMAN, WALTER N. (1927) ..... Rolling Road, Catonsville
* KNAPP, CHARLES H. (1916) ..... 1418 Fidelity Building
KNOX, J. H. MASON, JR., M. D. (1909) .... 211 Wendover Road, Guilford
KOPPELMAN, WALTER (1927) ..... 102 Milbrook Rd.

LANAHAN, MRS. WILLIAM WALLACE (ELEANOR WILLIAMS) (1929) ..... } Long Crandon, Towson, Md.
LATROBE, FERDINAND C. (1932) ..... 3921 Canterbury Rd.
LEACH, MISS MARY CLARA (1924) ..... 4014 Edmondson Ave.
LEAKIN, MARGARET DOBBIN (1920) ..... Lake Roland, Md.
LEAKIN, MISS SUSAN DOBBIN (1923) ..... 103 W. Monument St.
LEE, H. H. M. (1923) ..... 1930 Mt. Royal Terrace
LEE, JOHN L. G. (1916) ..... 511 Calvert Building
LEE, RICHARD LAWS (1935) ..... Morris Bldg.
LE FEVRE, MRS. WM. DOUGLAS (1935) ..... Abingdon, Md.
LEGG, JOHN C., JR. (1916) ..... 222 E. Redwood St.
* LEHMAYER, MARTIN (1927) ..... Fidelity Building
LESER, C. C. FULTON (1935) ..... 4403 Bedford Place
LEUPOLD, MRS. RICHARD J. (1934) ..... 223 E. Preston St.
LEVERING, EDWIN W. JR. (1935) ..... Ruxton, Md.
LEVY, OSCAR G. (1928) ..... 423 N. Fulton Ave.
LEVY, WILLIAM B. (1909) ..... Fidelity Building
LEWIS, PROF. CHARLES L., U. S. N. A. (1936) ..... } 41 Southgate Ave., Annapolis, Md.
LINVILLE, CHARLES H. (1918) ..... 4003 Keswick Rd.
LITTIG, MRS. JOHN M. (1919) ..... Cambridge Apartments
LLOYD, MRS. CHARLES HOWARD (1928) .... Easton, Md.
LOCKARD, G. CARROLL, M. D. (1919) ..... 2925 N. Charles St.
LOCKARD, MRS. G. CARROLL (1930) ..... 2925 N. Charles St.
LOCKHART, HENRY, JR. (1935) ..... "Cleghorn-on-Wye," Longwoods, Md.
LONG, MRS. BRECKENRIDGE (1931) ..... Laurel, Md.
LONG, COL. JOHN D. (1931) ..... Garden Apts.

LORD, MRS. J. WALTER (1923).....44 Roland Court
LORD, MRS. J. WILLIAMS (1919).....1011 N. Charles St.
LOWNDES, W. BLADEN (1921).....Fidelity Trust Co.
LUCAS, J. C. M. (1936).....Standard Oil Bldg.
LYON, MISS GRACE (1923).....223 Wendover Rd.

MACBRIDE, MRS. ARCHIBALD E. (1935)....Garden Apts.
MCCABE, JOS. A. (1936).....1312 Howewood Ave.
MCCARDELL, LEE (1929).....4618 Wilmslow Rd.
MCCARTY, MRS. AGATHA SHIPLEY (1935)..636 Cokesbury Ave.
MCCLEAVE, R. HUGH (1928).....Cumberland, Maryland
MCCOLGAN, CHARLES C. (1916).....2710 N. Calvert St.
MCCOLGAN, EDWARD (1921).....200 N. Beechwood Ave.
MCCORMICK, R. A. (1914).....3807 Fenchurch Road
MCCORMICK-GOODHART, LEANDER (1928).."Langley Park," Hyattsville, Md.
MACCUBBIN, MRS. WM. H. (1936).....1925 E. 32nd St.
MCCULLOCH, MRS. DUNCAN (1932).....Glencoe, Md.
MACGILL, JAMES (1934).....Atholton, Md.
MACHEN, ARTHUR W. (1917).....1109 Calvert Bldg.
MCHENRY, JOHN (1929).....Owings Mills, Md.
MCILVAIN, MISS ELIZABETH GRANT (1917).908 St. Paul St.
MCINTYRE, EDWARD J. (1934).....1213 N. Luzerne Ave.
MACKALL, R. MCGILL (1928).....2423 N. Forest Park Ave.
MCKIM, S. S. (1902).....P. O. Box 893
MCLANAHAN, MRS. AUSTIN (ROMAINE LEMOYNE) (1931)..... } Greenspring & Woodlawn Aves.
MCLANE, ALLAN (1894).....Garrison, Md.
MCLANE, MISS ELIZABETH C. (1919).....Warrington Apts.
MACLEAN, DR. ANGUS L. (1933).....1201 N. Calvert St.
MACNEIL, MRS. OF BARRA (1936).....2211—30th St., N. W., Wash., D. C.
MCWILLIAMS, MISS MARY MATHEWS (1929) ..... } 1732 N. Calvert St.
MAGEE, MR. and MRS. JOHN ALEXANDER (1936) ..... } 14 Hillside Rd., Roland Park
MAGRUDER, CALEB CLARKE (1930).....Upper Marlboro, Md.
MAGRUDER, MISS LOUISE E. (1929).....Annapolis, Md.
MAHONEY, MRS. ELLA V. (1935).....Bel Air, Md.
MALOY, WILLIAM MILNES (1911).....308 Overhill Rd.
MANNING, JAMES R. (1928).....Briarfield, Poplar Hill Road
MARBURG, THEODORE (1931).....14 W. Mt. Vernon Pl.
MARINE, MISS HARRIET P. (1915).....Box 40, Druid Station, Baltimore
MARKELL, MRS. FRANCIS H. (1923).....Frederick City, Md.
MARRIOTT, MRS. TELFAIR W. (1919).....1001 St. Paul St.
MARSHALL, MORGAN (1935).....3804 St. Paul St.
* MARSHALL, THOMAS B. (1928).....850 University Pkwy.
MARSTON, JAMES G., M. D. (1934).....516 Cathedral St.
MARYE, WILLIAM B. (1911).....207 E. Preston St.

MASSEY, MR. & MRS. J. ALLAN (1923)...1514 33rd St.
MASSEY, MISS M. E. (1925).....105 Maple Ave., Chestertown, Md.
MATHER, L. B. (1922).....315 E. 22nd St.
MATHEWS, EDWARD B., PH. D. (1905)....Johns Hopkins University
MATTHEWS, MRS. HENRY C. (1927).....1302 St. Paul Street
MAYNADIER, THOMAS MURRAY (1919).....Walbert Apts.
MAYNARD, JULIAN H., Lt. Comm. U. S. N. (1936) .....Philadelphia Navy Yard
MAYO, DR. R. W. B. (1927).....4300 Wickford Rd.
MEARS, MRS. ADELBERT WARREN (1930)...3102 Hilton St.
MENCKEN, AUGUST (1928).....1524 Hollins Street
MERRIMAN, H. MORTON (1935).....St. Michaels, Talbott Co., Md.
MEYER, MISS JESSIE H. (1934).....Ruxton, Md.
MEYER, MRS. ROBERT B. (1924).....3047 Brighton St.
MICKLE, MRS. MARBURY (1923).....The Sherwood Hotel
MILLER, CHARLES R. (1916).....2200 Roslyn Ave.
MILLER, EDGAR G., JR. (1916).....808 Fidelity Building
MILLER, R. FOWLER (1937).....Supt. Telegraph B. & O. R. R., Camden Station.
MILLER, VICTOR DAVIS, M. D. (1936).....Hagerstown, Md.
MILLER, MRS. WARREN D. (1924).....160 W. Washington St., Hagerstown, Md.
MILLER, MRS. WILLIAM E. (1922).....7 Beechdale Rd., Roland Park
MINTZ, JULIUS (1924).....400 Equitable Building
MITCHELL, MRS. ROBERT L. (1921).....2112 Maryland Ave.
MOORE, MRS. JOSEPH EARLE (1933) (GRACE BARCLAY) .....4422 Underwood Rd.
MORGAN, PHILIP S. (1936).....514 St. Paul Place
MORGAN, ZACHARIAH R., M. D. (1931)....708 Reservoir St.
MORRISON, MRS. HARRY (1935).....Woodbrook, Md.
MORTON, SAMUEL P., JR. (1934).....Ambassador Apts.
MULLIKIN, KENT R. (1933).....1511 Guilford Ave.
MULLIN, MISS ELIZABETH LESTER (1916)..1501 Park Ave.
MUNROE, MRS. KENNETH O. (1927).....543 Park Ave., Towson, Md.
MURDOCH, MISS MILDRED LAWS (1926)....1527 Bolton St.
MURRAY, MISS CHARLOTTE (1927).....Bohema Manor, Eastover, S. C.
MURRAY, MISS MERCEDES M. (1926).....1309 W. 42nd St.
MUSE, MRS. H. LEE (1930).....3748 Beech Ave.
MYERS, MRS. PHILIP (1935).....5 Maryland Ave., Towson, Md.

NELSON, J. ARTHUR (1921).....227 St. Paul St.
NEW, JACOB S. (1936).....101 W. Monument St.
NICCUM, NORMAN (1936).....2413 N. Calvert St.
NICHOLS, FIRMADGE KING, M. D. (1929)...4711 Roland Ave.
NICOLAI, CHARLES D. (1916).....3809 Dorchester Rd.
NIMMO, MRS. NANNIE BALL (1920).....3207 N. Calvert St.
NOLTING, WILLIAM G. (1919).....11 E. Chase St.

NORRIS, WALTER B. (1924).....199 Hanover St., Annapolis, Md.
NORTHUP, ISAAC NOYES (1936).....3317 Walbrook Ave.
NYBURG, SIDNEY L. (1921).....1504 First National Bank Building

OBER, GUSTAVUS, JR. (1914).....Woodbrook, Govans P. O., City
O'FERRALL, ALFRED J. (1936).....100 St. Paul St.
OFFUTT, T. SCOTT (1908).....Towson, Md.
OLD, FRANCIS E., JR. (1931).....1608 Linden Ave.
OLIVER, JOHN R., M. D. (1919).....1900 E. Monument St.
OLIVIER, STUART (1913).....2 Wyndhurst Ave.
OPPENHEIMER, REUBEN (1924).....626 Equitable Building
ORNDORFF, JAMES RIDGELY (1929).....5703 Berkley Ave., Mt. Washington
OWENS, ALBERT S. J. (1914).....Court House
OWENS, CHARLES B. (1935).....16 St. Paul St.
OWENS, EDWARD B., JR. (1927).....420 Cedarcroft Road
OWINGS, DR. EDWARD R. (1926).....1733 Linden Ave.

PACA, JOHN P., JR. (1931).....Title Bldg.
PAGE, CHARLES GREENLEAF (1931).....Calvert Court Apts.
PAGE, MRS. JAMES (1929).....Homewood Apts.
PAGE, WM. C. (1912).....Calvert Bank
PAINE, JAMES R. (1933).....18 E. Baltimore St.
PARKE, FRANCIS NEAL (1910).....Westminster, Md.
PARKS, MISS IDA M. (1922).....11 W. Saratoga St.
PARRAN, MRS. FRANK J. (1908).....144 W. Lanvale St.
PARRAN, DALRYMPLE (1926).....1708 N. Calvert St.
PASSANO, MRS. EDWARD B. (1935).....York Road and Susquehanna Ave.
PATTISON, SAM W. (1935).....407 N. Howard St.
PAUL, MRS. D'ARCY (1909).....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
PAUL, JOHN GILMAN D'ARCY (1927)....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
PENNINGTON, MRS. LEE ROBERTS (1932)...16 Taylor St., Chevy Chase, Md.
PERINE, MRS. GEORGE CORBIN (1916).....1124 Cathedral St.
PERINE, WASHINGTON (1917).....607 Cathedral St.
PERKINS, MIFFLIN THOMAS (1935).....3118 Howard Park Ave.
PERKINS, WALTER F. (1935).....5301 Purlington Way
PERLMAN, PHILIP B. (1936).....Munsey Bldg.
* PETER, ROBERT B. (1916).....Rockville, Md.
PIPER, MRS. JAMES (1935).....Eccleston, Md.
PITTS, MISS MARY B. (1927).....100 University Pkwy., W.
PITTS, TILGHMAN G. (1924).....129 E. Redwood St.
PLEASANTS, J. HALL, M. D. (1898).....201 Longwood Road, Roland Park
PLEASANTS, MRS. RICHARD H. (1936).....103 W. Monument St.
POE, EDGAR ALLAN (1929).....U. S. F. & G. Building
POLLITT, L. IRVING (1916).....1715 Park Place
PORTER, MISS BESSIE (1926).....3700 N. Charles St.
POST, A. H. S. (1916).....Mercantile Trust and Deposit Co.
POTTER, HENRY BETRAM (1936).....c/o Baltimore Transit Co.

POWELL, HENRY FLETCHER (1923).....309 W. Lanvale St.
POWELL, REV. NOBLE C. (1934).....16 E. Eager St.
PRESTON, MRS. HERBERT R. (1936).....Catonsville, Md.
PRESTON, JAMES H. (1898).....916 Munsey Building
PRICE, MRS. JULIET HAMMOND (1924)....Sherwood Hotel
PURDUM, MRS. BRADLEY K. (1923).....Hamilton, Md.
PURDUM, FRANK C. (1922).....Hamilton, Md.

RADCLIFFE, GEORGE L., PH. D. (1908).....Fidelity Building
RALSTON, MRS. DAVID A. (1935).....4437 Clifton Ave.
RAMEY, MRS. MARY E. W. (1922).....9 E. Franklin St.
RANDALL, BLANCHARD (1902).....200 Chamber of Commerce Bldg.
* RANDALL, MRS. BLANCHARD (1919).....8 W. Mt. Vernon Place
* RANDALL, DANIEL R. (1917).....712 Keyser Bldg.
REQUARDT, JOHN M. (1926).....
REQUARDT, MRS. JOHN M. (1926).....} 101 Wendover Rd.
REVELL, EDWARD J. W. (1916).....1308-09 Fidelity Bldg.
RHODE, W. ALLEN (1931).....Catonsville, Md.
RIANHARD, THOMAS McM. (1929).....} 1008 Winding Way, Poplar Hill, Roland Park
RICH, EDWARD N. (1916).....Union Trust Building
RICH, MRS. EDWARD L. (1926).....Catonsville, Md.
RICKER, MRS. ROGER R. (1927).....3011 Wayne Ave.
RIDGELY, MISS ELIZA (1893).....825 Park Ave.
RIDGELY, JOHN, JR. (1916).....Towson, Md.
RIELY, MRS. COMPTON (1934).....2207 St. Paul St.
RIEMAN, MRS. CHARLES ELLET (1909)...10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
RIEMAN, CHARLES ELLET (1898).....10 E. Mt. Vernon Place
RIGGS, MISS ANNIE SMITH (1934).....Brookeville, Md.
RIGGS, CLINTON L. (1907).....606 Cathedral St.
RIGGS, JOHN BEVERLEY (1936).....Brookville, Md.
RIGGS, LAWRASON (1894).....632 Equitable Building
RISACHER, REV. JOHN A., S. J. (1934)....Loyola College, Evergreen
ROACH, ERWIN R. (1934).....611 Park Ave.
ROBERTSON, DAVID A. (1936).....2229 N. Charles St.
ROBERTSON, JAMES A. (1936).....} Archivist, Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.
ROBERTSON, GEO. S. (1921).....Park Bank Building
ROBINSON, J. BEN, D. D. S. (1928).....Medical Arts Bldg.
ROBINSON, RALPH (1894).....Maryland Trust Bldg.
ROBINSON, RALPH J. (1934).....Baltimore Trust Bldg.
ROGERS, MISS MARIA R. (1936).....Pikesville, Md.
ROGERS, MRS. WM. F. (1927).....5308 Stonington Ave., Howard Park
ROHRER, C. W. G., M. D. (1910).....2814 Ailsa Ave.
ROSE, DOUGLAS H. (1898).....10 South St.
ROSE, R. CONTEE (1935).....301 Oakdale Rd.
ROSZEL, RICHARD JULIAN (1934).....1415 Bolton St.

ROUSE, JOHN G. (1928).....Md. Casualty Co.
ROUZER, E. MCCLURE (1920).....Calvert Bldg.
ROWE, MISS GEORGIA M. (1925).....2321 N. Calvert St.
ROWLAND, SAMUEL C. (1923).....Calvert Bldg.
RUMSEY, CHARLES L., M. D. (1919).....812 Park Ave.

SADTLER, MISS FLORENCE P. (1925).....2605 N. Charles St.
SAUNDERS, MISS MARY WALTON (1928)...Homewood Apts.
SAYLOR, W. CROMWELL (1936).....1912 N. Washington St.
SCHOENFIELD, MRS. FREDERICK (1928) (VIRGINIA BERKLEY BOWIE).....Middletown, Pa.
SCOTT, JAMES W. (1935).....213 W. Monument St.
SCOTT, MRS. WILLIAM DODDS (1929) (KATHERINE FAIRFAX KIMBERLY)...3908 Hadley Square
SEEMAN, FREDERICK C. (1919).....110 Hopkins Place
SEITZ, MRS. S. CLAYTON (1934).....Towson, Md.
SELDEN, ALBERT A. (1935).....3137 N. Calvert St.
SELFE, MRS. LEE WEBSTER (1934).....Salisbury, Md.
SEMMES, MISS FRANCES C. (1929).....222 W. Lanvale St.
SEMMES, JOHN E. JR. (1916).....First National Bank Bldg.
SEMMES, RAPHAEL (1923).....Latrobe Apts.
SEVERN, EDWIN F. (1936).....2543 Calverton Heights Ave.
SHACKELFORD, WM. T. (1926).....Earl Court Apts.
SHAMER, MAURICE EMORY (1924).....3300 W. North Ave.
SHANNAHAN, E. MCNEAL (1936).....Easton, Md.
SHARRETTS, DOUGLAS N. (1934).....4209 Maine Ave.
SHAW, JOHN K., JR. (1927).....Eccleston Station, Md.
SHERWOOD, WATSON E. (1931).....2818 St. Paul St.
SHIPLEY, ARTHUR M. (1935).....507 Edgevale Rd.
SHIPLEY, GEORGE (1924).....Fairhaven, Easton, Md.
SHIPLEY, MRS. MARVIN R. (1927).....Harman's, Md.
SHOEMAKER, MRS. EDWARD (1919).....1031 N. Calvert St.
SHOWACRE, MISS ELIZABETH B. (1932)....4105 Liberty Heights Ave.
SHOWER, MISS LEONORA V. (1935).....2133 Maryland Ave.
SHRIVER, ALFRED JENKINS (1921).....University Club
SHRIVER, MRS. EDWARD JENKINS (1936)...205 Ridgewood Rd.
SHRIVER, GEORGE M. (1935).....Old Court Rd.
SHURE, AUSTIN F. (1932).....3531 Wabash Ave.
SILL, MRS. HOWARD (1928).....12 E. Pleasant St.
SIMPSON, MRS. EDWARD (1935).....1528 Bolton St.
SIOUSSAT, MRS. ANNIE LEAKIN (1891)....1000 N. Charles St.
SKEEN, JOHN H. (1927).....First National Bank Bldg.
SKINNER, M. E. (1897).....1103 Fidelity Bldg.
SKIRVEN, PERCY G. (1914).....422 Chapelgate Rd., Ten Hills
SLEMONS, J. WILLIAM (1935).....Salisbury, Md.
SLINGLUFF, JESSE (1936).....Md. Trust Bldg.
SLOCUM, MRS. GEO. WASHINGTON (1925)..4100 N. Charles St.

SMITH, MRS. HENRY EDMOND (1923).....1500 Park Ave.
SMITH, HENRY LEE, M. D. (1931).....4313 St. Paul St.
SMITH, MRS. JAMES S. (1928).....Annapolis Blvd., Brooklyn, Md.
SMITH, MRS. TUNSTALL (1935).....Preston Apts.
SNOW, MRS. HENRY (MAUD BIRNIE CARY) (1925)..... } 4824 Roland Avenue
SOLLERS, BASIL (1933).....605 Lennox St.
SOLTER, GEORGE A. (1925).....Court House, City
SOPER, HON. MORRIS A. (1917).....102 W. 39th St.
SPEARE, ALMUS REED (1923).....Rockville, Md.
SPEER, J. RAMSEY (1931).....Trappe, Talbot Co., Md.
SPENCER, MISS ELEANOR PATTERSON (1936)..... } Goucher College
SPILKER, MISS JULIA E. (1933).....Northway Apts.
SPRIGG, JAMES CRESAP (1932).....Allston Apts.
SPRIGG, WM. MERCER, M. D. (1933).....35 Quincy St., Chevy Chase, Md.
STAMP, MISS ADELE HAGNER (1929).....Univ. of Maryland, College Park, Md.
STANLEY, JOHN S. (1936).....First National Bank Bldg.
STEEL, MISS MARGARET A. (1917).....215 N. Church St., Gilroy, Calif.
STEELE, MISS ROSA (1925).....3809 N. Charles St.
STEIN, CHAS. F. (1905).....S. E. Cor. Courtland & Saratoga Sts.
STEINMEYER, REUBEN G. (1936).....College Park, Md.
STETSON, MRS. CHARLES W. (1936).....Glencarlyn, Arlington Co., Va.
STETTINIUS, MRS. WM. C. (1929).....500 Somerset Rd.
STEUART, LAMAR HOLLYDAY (1928).....1311 John Street
STEUART, RICHARD D. (1919).....703 W. University Pkwy.
STEUART, MISS SUSAN ELLIOTT (1929)....Roland Ave., Roland Park
STICK, MRS. GORDON M. F. (ANNA HOWARD FITCHETT) (1930)..... } Glen Arm, Maryland
STOLL, MRS. F. CONRAD (1936).....Brooklyn, Md.
STORK, WM. B., LT. U. S. NAVY, RET. (1928)..... } 620 W. University Pkwy.
STORM, WILLIAM M. (1926).....Frederick, Md.
STOW, JOHN CARROLL (1933).....4001 N. Charles St.
STRAN, MRS. THOMAS P. (1929) (CAROLINE S. BANSEMER) } Ambassador Apts.
STRAUS, ISAAC LOBE (1935).....Brooklandville, Md.
STRONG, GORDON (1936)..... { Sugar Loaf Mountain, Dickerson Sta., Md.
STUART, MISS SARAH ELIZABETH (1915)...Chestertown, Md.
SULLIVAN, MRS. FELIX R., JR. (1922)....1605 Park Ave.
SUMMERS, CLINTON (1916).....1 Bedford Place, Guilford
SUPPLEE, J. FRANK, JR. (1929).....Court House
SWAIN, ROBERT L., M. D. (1936).....3507 Edgewood Rd.
SWANN, DON (1935).....879 Park Ave.
SWEENY, MRS. LOUIS F.....2844 N. Calvert St.
SYMINGTON, JOHN F. (1924).....1407 Philpot St.

TABLER, DR. H. E. (1926).....Box 2, Hancock, Md.
TALBOT, MRS. BERTHA C. HALL (1913)....Rockville, Md.
TAYLOR, MRS. CLARENCE M. (1930).....Linthicum Heights
THOM, MRS. MARY W. (1919).....105 Wendover Rd., Guilford
* THOM, MRS. P. LEA (1902).....204 W. Lanvale St.
THOMAS, MRS. DOUGLAS (CATHERINE BOWIE CLAGETT) (1925).....2739 N. Calvert St.
THOMAS, EDWARD M. (1928).....1123 N. Calvert St.
THOMAS, MRS. HARVEY C. (1914).....Tudor Arms Apts.
THOMAS, MRS. JAMES WALTER (1935)....Cumberland, Md.
THOMAS, RICHARD HENRY.....3448 Gilman Terrace
THOMAS, WILLIAM S. (1915).....211 N. Calvert St.
THOMPSON, H. OLIVER (1895).....Title Building
THORNBURY, LEON DELMAR (1933).....2 W. 86th St., New York City
TIFFANY, HERBERT T. (1919).....Severn Apts.
TILGHMAN, LT. COL. HARRISON (1917)....Foxley Hall, Easton, Md.
TILGHMAN, J. DONNELL (1928).....Easton, Md.
TILGHMAN, MRS. WILLIAM H. (IRMA B.) (1934).....Salisbury, Md.
TORRENCE, ROBERT M. (1933).....110 Edgevale Rd.
TORRENCE, MRS. ROBERT M. (1934).....110 Edgevale Rd.
TOWNSHEND, MISS LENA G. (1934).....5200 St. George Ave.
TRAIL, MISS ANNA (1934).....4621 Belview Ave.
TRACY, ARTHUR G. (1933).....Hampstead, Md.
TREIDE, HENRY E. (1922).....4201 St. Paul St.
* TRIPPE, JAMES McC. (1918).....1602 Bolton St.
TUBMAN, MRS. SAMUEL A. (1921).....3409 Greenway
TUCKER, MRS. CLARENCE A. (1922).....Sudbrook Park
TURNBULL, MISS ANNE GRAEME (1919)..1623 Park Ave.
TURNER, MRS. J. FRANKLIN (1926).....Cecil Apartments
TYSON, A. M. (1895).....207 N. Calvert St.

ULLRICH, JAMES RITTENHOUSE (1933)....704 Cathedral St.
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND.....College Park, Md.

VALENTINE, MISS KATHERINE (1928).....1120 N. Calvert St.
VAN BIBBER, MISS LENA CHEW (1923)....Preston Apts.
VAN HOLLEN, DONALD B. (1925).....Cedarcroft & Hillen Rds., Cedarcroft
VEITCH, DR. FLETCHER P. (1926).....
VEITCH, MRS. LAURA B. (1926).....College Park, Md.
VEST, DR. CECIL W. (1923).....1014 St. Paul St.
VICKERY, STEPHEN G. (1925).....Earl Court Apts.
VINCENT, JOHN M., PH. D. (1894).....406 Holliston Ave., Pasadena, Calif.
VON DER HORST, MISS LOUISE (1928).....747 W. North Ave.

WALKER, HENRY M. (1933).....2927 N. Calvert St.
WALLACE, CHAS. C. (1915).....804 Union Trust Building

WALLACE, FRANK T. (1936).....11 E. Saratoga St.
WARD, MISS ELIZABETH (1933).....1514 Park Ave.
WARD, MRS. JOSEPH S. (1936).....14 E. Franklin St.
WARFIELD, EDWIN, JR. (1914)....."Oakdale," Sykesville, Md.
WARING, COL. J. M. S. (1933).....277 Park Ave., New York City
WATERS, J. SEYMOUR T. (1902).....601 Calvert Building
WATERS, MISS MARY E. (1916).....Baltimore, Md.
WEBB, MISS CELESTE (1930).....9 Wendover Rd.
WEBB-PEPLOE, MRS. LAURA HAMMOND (1922)..... } 3927 Canterbury Rd.
WEBBER, CHARLES R. (1920).....B. and O. Building
* WEEDON, MISS L. A. (1927).....1306 W. Lexington St.
WELSH, MRS. ROBERT A. (1916).....Millersville, A. A. Co., Md.
WETHERALL, WM. G. (1924).....317 W. President St.
WHEDBEE, JAMES S. (1927).....Md. Life Ins. Bldg.
WHEELER, ELLIOTT (1935)....."Canterbury," Easton, Md.
WHEELER, JOSEPH L. (1927).....Enoch Pratt Free Library
WHEELER, H. LAWRENCE (1935).....2910 Hollins Ferry Road
WHITE, CHARLES HOOVER (1923).....Rolling Road, Relay, Md.
WHITE, MRS. GEORGE HOWARD, JR. (1920)..Upperville, Va.
WHITELEY, BENJAMIN (1934).....Mercantile Trust Bldg.
WHITELEY, MRS. JAMES G. (1931).....223 W. Lanvale St.
WHITRIDGE, WILLIAM (1919).....Garrett Bldg.
* WHITRIDGE, WILLIAM H. (1886).....604 Cathedral St.
WHYTE, MISS MARGERY (1934).....Washington Apts.
WICKES, COL. JOSEPH L. (1923)..... } c/o Public Service Commission, Munsey Building
WICKES, MRS. WALTER (1928)..... } Brooklandville Post Office,
WICKES, WALTER (1928)..... } Green Spring Valley, Md.
WIEGAND, HENRY H. (1923).....4614 Roland Ave.
WILD, MRS. MICHAEL B. (1922).....928 Cathedral St.
WILKINSON, A. L., M. D. (1923).....Raspeburg, Baltimore Co., Md.
WILKINSON, CHARLES M. (1933).....638 W. North Ave.
WILLARD, DANIEL (1913).....B. & O. Building
WILLARD, MISS JESSIE C. (1931).....3907 Greenway
WILLIAMS, E. A. (1920).....1430 John St.
WILLIAMS, MISS ELIZABETH CHEW (1916).108 W. 39th St.
WILLIAMS, GEORGE WEEMS (1919).....Blythewood Road, Roland Park
WILLIAMS, MRS. HUNTINGTON (MARY CAMILLA MCKIM) (1937)..... } ..620 W. Belvedere Ave.
WILLIAMS, MRS. N. WINSLOW.....4112 Greenway
WILLIAMS, ROGER B. (1928).....3209 N. Charles Street
WILLSON, MRS. NOTLEY (1917) (MARY R. CAMP)..... } Rock Hall, Md.
WILSON, MISS VIRGINIA A. (1926).....Charles & Highfield Rd.
WINCHESTER, MARSHALL (1902).....21 W. Chase St.
WINDER, EDWARD LLOYD (1927).....Easton, Md.

WINN, MISS ELIZABETH J. (1929).....10 E. Biddle St.
WINSLOW, RANDOLPH, M. D. (1921).....1900 Mt. Royal Ave.
WIRGMAN, HAROLD F., Lt. Col. U.S.M.C Ret. (1936)..... } Annapolis Club, Annapolis, Md.
WOOD, FREDERICK WM. (1926)..... } 2429 Keyworth Ave.
WOOD, MRS. FREDERICK WM. (1926)... }
WOODRUFF, CALDWELL, M. D.....Linthicum Heights, Md.
WOODS, DAVID F. (1936).....Baltimore Association of Commerce
WORTHINGTON, EDWARD L. (1924).....3504 Clifton Ave.
WORTHINGTON, ELLICOTT H. (1917).....1531 Bolton St.
WORTHINGTON, LT. LELAND GRIFFITH (1935) ..... } Berwyn, Md.
WRIGHT, PHILEMON K. (1929).....Easton, Md.
WRIGHT, W. H. DECOURSEY (1921).....Monkton, Md.
WRIGHT, MAJ. WM. BURNETT (1936).....106 Ridgewood Rd.
WROTH, LAWRENCE C. (1909)..... { John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R. I.
WROTH, PEREGRINE, JR., M. D. (1921).....Hagerstown, Md.

YOUNG, ANDREW J., JR. (1916).....814 Fidelity Building
YOUNG, EDWIN BENNETT (1935).....224 N. Calvert St.
YOUNG, HUGH HAMPTON, M. D. (1934)...Cold Spring Lane

ZELL, MRS. HARRY S., JR. (1924).....1800 N. Charles St.
ZIMMERMANN, CHARLES W. (1929). .....1922 W. Baltimore St.
ZINK, MRS. GEORGE CONRAD (1936).....2344 Edmondson Ave.

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VOLUME LII

Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1755-56

This is the 52nd volume of the general series and the twenty-fourth of the sub-series relating to Assembly affairs. As is usually the case, the letter of transmittal to the Society, is a scholarly monograph on the period covered.

The years 1755 and 1756 were marked in Maryland by increased military activity on the western frontier against the French; the disastrous defeat of Braddock at the Monongahela; and at home by increased tension and bickering between the Upper and Lower houses of Assembly. The seeds of dissension between the absentee landlord and his tenants had already been sown, and had taken root in the soil fertilized by mutual distrust and by dissensions on the subject of taxation; the seedling was being prepared for a vigorous, independent growth when a few years later it was to be further nourished by an added resentment against the King and his schemes of Taxation. The Roman Catholic question was also agitating the fears and prejudices, of the people. The abortive Scotch uprising in favor of the Young Pretender, although it had resulted in Charles Edward's defeat at Culloden in 1746, still filled men's minds with fear, and various additional repressive measures against Catholics in England ensued. The aggressions of the French, a Catholic nation, on the western frontier, and the outrages practiced by their Indian allies, caused the religious question to blaze up in Maryland with even greater intensity than in England.

In the Appendix may be found a number of hitherto unpublished papers, preserved among the manuscript archives of the State, reflecting upon the proceedings of the Assembly for the years 1755-1756.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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POE'S LITERARY BALTIMORE.

By JOHN C. FRENCH.
Librarian, The Johns Hopkins University

The years that Poe spent in Baltimore long baffled his biographers. Like the interior of Africa in the old geographies, that space of time had either to be frankly marked "unexplored" or else filled in with detail based almost wholly on conjecture. In recent times after a scrutiny more searching than is usually applied to any problem in American literary history its obscurity has been considerably lessened; but there is still much that we earnestly desire to know.

The limits of the period to which I allude are well determined. From the spring of 1831, after he had got himself dismissed from West Point, to August 1835, when he went south to begin work on the *Southern Literary Messenger,* Baltimore was Poe's home; and two unfortunate visits to the Allan residence in Richmond made it increasingly clear to him that he had no other. It is this chapter of his life which Harrison, writing about 1901, called "the dark years," and which Hervey Allen, writing in 1926, after a quarter of a century during which interest in Poe had steadily mounted, still felt obliged to call "the mysterious years."

However little we may know about them, these were obviously momentous years in Poe's life. He came down from New York with the nightmare of his West Point career behind him,

penniless, without trade or profession, without influential friends, and without much reason to hope that a world which had ignored his three little books of unusual verse had any place for him as a literary craftsman. He had printed, so far as we know, only twenty-three poems, many of them very short; and he had done practically nothing in prose. He had written *Israfel* and *To Helen*; but he had not yet written *The Haunted Palace,* which I regard as his finest poem, or *The Raven* or *Ulalume,* or *The Bells* or *Annabel Lee.* A man of more vigorous physique and more stable personality would perhaps have solved the problem by abandoning letters and making his own place in the business life of the thriving city. Had Poe been able and willing to do this the loss to American literature might have been very great.

That he earnestly tried to find work there can be no doubt, for we know of applications for appointment as clerk and as teacher; and we can be sure that before he humbled his pride to John Allan he must have tried various other expedients. When we remember that a little repute as a poet was likely to be regarded as the poorest of recommendations by practical folk a century ago, and that his method of securing release from the military academy must have been known, it is easy to understand how he failed. What is less easy to understand is how, in spite of so poor a beginning and such meagerness of opportunity, Poe wrested from failure such a degree of success that at the end of the period he had the friendship of the chief literary man of Maryland, and an opportunity for editorial work which he proved brilliantly competent to do. The helpless amateur had emerged as a confident and capable man of letters.

To determine by what means and under what influences this transformation was accomplished is one of the most fascinating problems in Poe criticism. We are not greatly helped toward its solution by reminiscences of Poe's calls on young ladies and of his verses scribbled in their albums, or of his making one of a Bohemian circle in the Seven Stars Tavern. The story of violent scenes in his wooing of Mary Devereaux and of his attack-

ing a member of her family with a horsewhip may be literally true; but one wonders whether an account of such a love affair reported forty years after the events took place, and when the poet's fame had become established, may not have been considerably exaggerated. Dr. Moran, you will remember, told one story of Poe's death in his letter to Mrs. Clemm and quite another many years later on the lecture platform, when it was a matter of some consequence to have attended Poe in his last illness.

What we do know with reasonable certainty of these years is that in them Poe had no regular employment except his own literary work and that he was on the whole both sober and industrious. The occasion when on the invitation of classmates at West Point he took part in a champagne supper at Barnum's Hotel and was reproached by Mrs. Clemm for being "not himself" was clearly exceptional. It is evident that during these four and a half years Poe toiled pretty steadily at the task of making himself a man of letters. What we could wish to know, then, is not more about his social life, such as it was, or about his painful relations with John Allan, but rather the literary influences that so shaped and matured his powers.

Students of the intellectual life of the busy little city of some 80,000 souls in which Poe served his apprenticeship as a writer of prose will find its literary taste and culture somewhat surprising. I have read an attempt to explain Poe's lack of adjustment with the life of his time on the ground that he was an artist in the uncongenial atmosphere of the frontier. The fact is that in the first third of the nineteenth century the frontier had moved much farther inland. Colonial Annapolis, indeed, had pretty faithfully copied the coffee-house life of eighteenth-century London while Baltimore was yet an unimportant village; and now, when Baltimore had far outstripped the capital, the provincial tradition was maintained. Pinckney and Poe combined high promise with much frustration and defeat, not because they were in an atmosphere that they could not breathe freely; but because of inherent physical weaknesses and circumstances that were entirely accidental. Genius often makes

its own world in spite of obstacles and just as often it is the means of its own destruction.

Equally unconvincing it seems to me is the suggestion, apparently followed by the author and by the producer of the recent biographical play *Plumes in the Dust*, that Poe is to be explained as an illustration of genius surrounded by a mediocrity against which it reacts with fierce scorn. As a critic Poe praised as often as he blamed and much of the pretentious emptiness that he deflated richly deserved his attacks. Most young intellectuals are somewhat cocky, and I find no evidence that in this period Poe was more so than his contemporaries.

The score of years from 1815 to 1835 in American literary history constitute an unusually interesting period from several points of view. For one thing, it was a time when publication was undertaken lightly, and the small city was quite as ready to establish a new journal as was the metropolis. Dr. John E. Uhler has shown, in an unpublished dissertation, that in the years from 1815 to 1833, inclusive, no less than 72 new periodicals were announced for publication in Baltimore. A few of these never got beyond the prospectus stage, and forty-seven of them did not survive more than twelve months. There was in the whole period no one year in which there were not launched at least two new periodical ventures. All this implies an attitude toward literary journalism that certainly does not exist in the Baltimore of a century later and a society in which the inception of Poe's consuming desire to create his own journal is quite understandable.

There was also a surprising amount of book publishing, furthered, of course, by the absence of international copyright which left a master printer free to employ his idle press by turning out his own editions of works popular abroad; but the issues were by no means restricted to pirated works. An adequate study of the output of such presses as those of Joseph Robinson and Fielding Lucas, Jr. remains to be made.

Booksellers were numerous and Dr. Uhler's careful study of the advertisements of books offered for sale in the leading newspapers records a surprising number and variety of works, and

proves that a popular book in England was often imported directly and placed on sale within a few weeks of its appearance in the London shops. Baltimore was then the third city in the union in population and was enjoying a lucrative foreign trade and receiving an enormous foreign immigration. Its architects and artists commanded respect beyond its boundaries and its business men were among the most progressive in the country. When Poe knew it, its intellectual life was at high tide, a tide that it was not to reach again until long after the war.

To a certain extent, of course, Poe's circumstances may have kept him out of the full current of the intellectual life that I have described. His poverty would have barred him from much of the social life of a city which, a generation later, Oliver Wendell Holmes could describe as the gastronomic metropolis of the union. Kennedy and Latrobe do not seem to have been aware of his existence before the *Visitor* prize contest. Among those who did know him and who have left written records of their relations with him were two literary journalists and minor poets, near his own age and in comparable circumstances, whom it may be worth our while to discuss. They were John H. Hewitt and Lambert A. Wilmer.

Hewitt's career was in some respects not greatly unlike Poe's. The son of a professional musician in New York City, he was given a common school education and was apprenticed to a sign-painter. From this uncongenial trade he ran away. After reconciliation with his family he was entered in the military academy at West Point, where he received special instruction from the bandmaster. Upon completing the course he resigned without graduating and went south as a member of a theatrical company organized by his father. When the venture failed at Augusta, Georgia, Hewitt remained in that city as a teacher of music. He also studied law and established a newspaper which long survived his interest in it.

Of Hewitt's romantic experiences in the South I can recount a few from memory, for which I cannot cite published authority, for I was permitted some years ago to read an autobiography which Hewitt left in manuscript and which has not been pub-

lished. The circumstances were these. Hewitt, who was born in 1801, was twice married. His first wife died in 1863. His second wife, a Miss Smith of Savannah, Georgia, was eighteen when she married him. Hewitt died in October, 1890, and Mrs. Hewitt survived him nearly forty years. I met her a few years ago and, of course, inquired eagerly for records of her husband's early years in Baltimore, hoping to uncover some new information about Poe. Mrs. Hewitt, who was then over eighty, startled me by asserting that her husband had met Poe in Baltimore in 1849 just before his death. That *would* have been news; and when after some reluctance she put a typed copy of the unpublished autobiography into my hands, I read it with as earnest attention as I have ever given any document in my life. I soon found that she had confused the time of an earlier meeting of Hewitt with Poe in Washington, which Hewitt had described elsewhere in print, and which he followed in the manuscript account by the remark, "I never saw him alive again."

Though I found nothing new as to Poe, I did find Hewitt's account of his own life entertaining reading. There was, for example, his account of a rival's attempt to discredit him with the family of the girl to whom they were both devoted by asserting that Hewitt had inherited a taint of Negro blood. I should have supposed that such a charge in that time and place would have meant immediate bloodshed. By his own account, however, Hewitt controlled his feelings until he could write to his mother and demand assurances as to the purity of his ancestry. When he received her letter asserting that the charge was false, he laid it before the detractor, pointed a pistol at his head, and required and received instant and full apology.

There was another occasion when he was riding with a young lady and they were overtaken by a storm so severe that they were forced to seek refuge with their horses in a deserted barn. They were detained in that compromising situation all night, first by the storm and then by bears, which scented the horses and tried to get at them. What with preventing the bears from getting in, controlling the frightened horses, and reassuring the lady, Hewitt had a sufficiently trying time, which was not improved

when the searching party found them in the morning and the irate parent was at first inclined to put a wrong construction on the experience.

Hewitt came to Baltimore to live in 1828 and became joint-editor with Rufus Dawes of *The Baltimore Minerva and Emerald,* established in that year. In July, 1830, this journal became *The Minerva and Saturday Post* and was edited by Hewitt alone. In February, 1832, Mr. Cloud established *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor,* with Wilmer as literary editor. Editor and proprietor quarreled and Wilmer was dismissed and Hewitt employed in his place. A lawsuit over Wilmer's contract followed and Wilmer won a substantial verdict.

Then the *Visitor* offered prizes for the best story and the best poem and Hewitt, though editor, competed under an assumed name. Poe was awarded the story prize of $50 for his *Ms. Found in a Bottle* and Hewitt was given the poetry prize of $25 for his poem *The Song of the Wind.* The judges were indiscreet enough to allow the impression to get out that they had been disposed to rank Poe's *Coliseum* first among the poems but did not wish to award both prizes to the same person. Poe felt that he was justly entitled to the honor of both awards and asked Hewitt to agree to waive his rank in the contest but keep the money prize. Of course he refused and Poe was displeased with him, the displeasure being heightened by the fact that Poe already blamed Hewitt for an unfavorable review of his book of poems in 1829.

The *Visitor* was sold in 1835 and Hewitt then conducted a daily paper. In 1838 he moved to Washington and again became a teacher of music. During the War he was for a time in Richmond making use of his West Point training by serving as a drill master. Then he went to Savannah, where he edited the *Evening Mirror.* He came back to Baltimore in the early seventies and lived here for the rest of his life, writing stories, ballads, and operas, and teaching music. He never forgave Poe for being a greater poet and was an entirely honest Philistine as to his judgment of Poe's verse.

Wilmer was something of an Ishmael, with his hand against

every man. He was born in Kent County, Maryland, in 1805. After his services as editor of the *Visitor* he went to Philadelphia, where he worked on various newspapers and was for a time editor of *Godey's Lady's Book*. He satirized American writers in one diatribe and his fellow journalists in another and wrote an English grammar and a life of De Soto. His comment on Poe after the poet's death was a loyal defence of his character and habits, telling of their long walks together in the country and implying an intimacy that must have had a significant influence in the development of Poe's mind.

This period which so teemed with ephemeral journals was also the time of the literary coterie. Addisonianism persisted long in America and exerted an influence so potent and so far-reaching that no student has adequately estimated it. An ambitious young scribbler always tried his hand at a series of Spectator essays and many groups of congenial intellectuals formed themselves into Spectator clubs. Washington Irving was a member of such a group—a jolly company who were known as the Ancient Club or the Nine Worthies, and sometimes, perhaps more appropriately, as the Kilkenny Lads. One of the literary products of their convivial gatherings was the light and graceful series known as the "Salmagundi Papers." About Joseph Dennie in Philadelphia there gathered another coterie known as the Tuesday Club, which included Charles Brockden Brown and William Dunlap, and which furthered the production of Dennie's periodical *The Portfolio*. The Connecticut Wits, who because they met in Hartford, are often spoken of as the Hartford Wits, were an even better known group of the same general type.

I mention these merely to indicate the character of the impulse, which was really a survival of the coffee-house group rather than a part of the tradition which gave us Phi Beta Kappa and the almost universal college literary and debating societies of which The Jefferson Society at the University of Virginia to which Poe himself belonged is a distinguished survivor. What I am really interested in is such coteries in Maryland.

The oldest of these that I know anything about is the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, which flourished from 1745 to 1755, a time when Annapolis was a much more important city than Baltimore. This club was founded by a witty and learned physician of Scotch birth and training, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, who served as its secretary. Its members were chiefly doctors, lawyers, and clergymen; and their literary activities seem to have centered around Hamilton and the colonial printer Jonas Green. Dr. Hamilton not only kept minutes of the meetings but also amused himself by writing an elaborate mock-heroic history of the Club which has come down to us in manuscript. The most important of these manuscript records are in the Library of the Johns Hopkins University, in bound quartos illustrated by crude wash-drawings and sketches.

The Tuesday Club met in the homes of the members in rotation for a simple meal and comforting drink, being particularly partial to lemon punch. They were alluded to in the minutes by pseudonyms or clubicular names, as they called them, such as Loquacious Scribble, Jonathan Grog, and Protomusicus Solo Neverout, and they were fond of puns, satirical verse, and anniversary odes. One of their whims was to speak of their society as " This here ancient and honorable club." The Tuesday Club went out of existence in 1755 upon the death of Dr. Hamilton.

All this happened, of course, three quarters of a century before Poe's so-called mysterious years in Baltimore; but it points the way to a tradition that survived to Poe's day, for in the first third of the nineteenth century there was a surprisingly similar coterie in Baltimore. The Baltimore group was known as the Delphian Club. It had nine members, one for each of the muses. They met for supper in the homes and offices of the members, who were known by fantastic pseudonyms, such as Solomon Fitz-Quizz and Jehu O'Cataract. They were fond of puns, debates, satirical verse, and anniversary odes and were accustomed to refer to their own society as " This here club! " Their secretary, Dr. Readel, wrote elaborate minutes, illustrated with sketches, and recast them in a second edition. Dr. Readel's

records of the Delphian Club are in the library of the Maryland Historical Society.

Like the Tuesday Club, the Delphians were chiefly young professional men. They included among others John Pierpont and John Neal both of whom had some repute as poets, and Paul Allen, editor of the *Federal Republican* and Tobias Watkins, editor of the *Portico*; and it was a rule of the club that all should contribute to the *Portico,* and that their literary work should be preserved in the secretary's records.

The Delphians were organized in 1816 and their formal minutes cease in 1825; but there are allusions that seem to imply that meetings were held after that date, many of them in the home of William Gwynn, a classical structure known as the Tusculum, on a small lane now in the heart of the business section of Baltimore. With Gwynn, Poe was certainly acquainted for he had applied to him for a position early in the Baltimore years; and Gwynn had years before studied law in the same office as David Poe.

How much Poe knew about these two Maryland coteries it is impossible to say. So many details of Poe's biography have been predicated solely on probability that I am reluctant to add a straw's weight to the total; but it is obvious that he might easily have had some acquaintance with both. To the *History of the Tuesday Club* there are prefixed letters that show that the manuscripts were twice deposited for safe-keeping in the Baltimore Library, once in 1809 and again in 1824. They must have been withdrawn later, for they were presented to the Johns Hopkins Library by Judge Dobbin in the early nineties. It seems more than probable that they were in the care of the Baltimore Library Company in the years that Poe spent in Baltimore. That Poe had access to the Library I cannot prove. There are traditions that he was able to use it and that he did use it industriously; it is hard to believe that he would not somehow have contrived to secure a membership, since non-members could join for six dollars a year.

Where the Delphian Club records were I do not know, for they do not emerge into library history until 1920 when they

were presented to the Maryland Historical Society by descendants of Dr. Readel. But at least one man whom Poe knew personally, William Gwynn, had belonged to the Delphian Club and some of the activities of the club must have been common knowledge. There is, for example, evidence that the Delphians were attacked in the press as an infidel society and that they made a spirited reply.

However he came by the knowledge, Poe knew of such coteries, for the major literary effort of his mysterious years was the creation of his own imaginary Spectator group, which he called The Folio Club, and for which he wrote sixteen tales. Six of these, bearing the title *Tales of the Folio Club,* were included in the excessively neat manuscript which he submitted for the *Visitor's* prize. Others had already been printed separately in a Philadelphia newspaper. Poe was unsuccessful in his attempt to have the collection published as a book and the introduction which he wrote for the purpose remained in manuscript until after his death.

Now it is clear, though not obvious at first glance, that Poe intended the *Tales of the Folio Club* as a satire both upon literary coteries and upon various prevailing types of magazine fiction. His travesty is so accurate that the suspicion grows that the Delphians persisted long enough for Poe to know a good deal about them, and that he had them, as well as other similar clubs, in mind as he wrote. In their preamble the Delphians declare their association to exist "for the laudable gratification of their fondness for literary and scientific pursuits . . . and to improve their minds as well as to amuse their leisure hours by the mutual interchange of opinions and sentiments." A fine was imposed upon a member who should introduce any "joke or jest, *bon mot* or witticism which had been seen in print by more than one of the members or heard before by a majority of them."

Poe represents the members of his Folio Club as using fantastic pseudonyms or club names, such as the Honorable Augustus Scratchaway, Solomon Seadrift, and Mr. Snaps, the president "a very lank man with a hawk nose, . . . formerly

in the service of the Down East Review." One wonders if he could mean John Neal! A clause in their constitution forbade the members to be otherwise than erudite and witty and the avowed objects of the confederacy were "the instruction of society and the amusement of themselves." They met monthly at the home of some member and each was expected to come prepared with a short prose tale of his own composition to be read after dinner. The number of the Folio Club was limited to eleven because in a certain year before the Deluge there were eleven spots on the sun; and the meeting which Poe describes was held on a Tuesday.

Whether Poe travestied the Delphians, or their early prototypes, the members of the Annapolis Tuesday Club, or merely the general tradition, it is into the literary atmosphere represented by such clubs that he came when he made Baltimore his home, and some of the Delphians he was destined to know personally. The four and a half years that constituted his apprenticeship, though full of uncertainty and hope deferred, with doubtless some real hardship, must have had elements of happiness that were lacking later, when his burdens and anxieties were greater and his health steadily worse. In those years he had for the first time in his life since babyhood a home in which there was unmixed affection, and in that humble home he had that richest of graces the consciousness of genius growing into the maturity of its powers.

SOME RECENTLY-FOUND POEMS ON THE CALVERTS.

By Walter B. Norris.

A thin scrapbook in the library of the United States Naval Academy has recently been found to contain unpublished poems, written by Richard Lewis and other Marylanders in the period between 1720 and 1740, and a copy of the *Maryland Gazette* for March 8-15, 1734, which seems to be the only one which has

survived. The volume is described within it as "Purchased in 1849 from Miss Eliza Maynadier from the Library of the late Col. Maynadier of Annapolis."

The contents, each manuscript poem in a different hand, are as follows:

(1) A poem by Richard Lewis, dated Annapolis, May 10, 1732, addressed to John Ross, Esq., Clerk of the Council, and consoling him for the departure of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert.

(2) A poem by Richard Lewis in memory of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert, who died June 1, 1732.

(3) A poem, author not indicated, in memory of Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert.

(4) First sheet, two pages, of the *Maryland Gazette*, "From Friday, March 8, to Friday, March 15, 1734. Number LX." This is entirely devoted to printing an elegy on the death of Governor Charles Calvert, who died February 2, 1734. No author is indicated.

(5) Three letters of Eleanor, Queen of England, to the Pope asking his assistance in securing the release of her son, Richard, King of England, translated into English verse by an author not indicated.

(6) A poem "To the Queen," in the same handwriting as No. 5 but referring apparently to the reigning Queen. No author is indicated.

The Subjects

John Ross, to whom the first poem is addressed, was Clerk of the Council and later Register of the Land Office. He built "Belvoir" on the Severn. His granddaughter, Elizabeth Ross Key, married Col. Henry Maynadier, who was later owner of "Belvoir." In St. Anne's Cemetery, Annapolis, are the graves of Col. Henry Maynadier, died 1849, aged 91 years, Elizabeth Maynadier, wife of Col. H. Maynadier, and of Eliza Maynadier, born 1786, died 1852. Francis Scott Key was a great grandson of John Ross.

Edmond Jenings, to whom Lewis's second poem is inscribed, was a member of Lincoln's Inn, a distinguished lawyer, and the Secretary of the Province. He erected the house which later housed the Governors from Horatio Sharpe down to 1866.

For convenience the facts about Benedict Leonard Calvert may be summarized. Born September 20, 1700, he was the second son of Benedict Leonard Calvert, 4th Lord Baltimore. According to William Hearn,[1] a fellow student at Christ Church College, Oxford, he was interested in "curiosities," and travelled to Rome, and on leaving for Maryland in 1727 had a presentiment that he would never return. Hearn says that Calvert wrote him a long letter from Annapolis, dated March 18, 1728/9, in which he gave several particulars relating to the Island (sic), and sent him a copy of Lewis's *Muscipula*. He even planned to write a description and history of Maryland. The date of his death is given by Hearn as June 1, 1732. In his will he bequeathed one-third of his estate to King William's School.

Calvert's scholarly and artistic interests, so much emphasized in the poems, may be partly the cause which made the years of his administration, and the years immediately following, a period of surprising literary activity in Maryland. The *Maryland Gazette* was established by William Parks and showed its literary character by Latin quotations at the mast-head of the early editions. Cooke's *Sotweed Factor* appeared in several editions, Lewis published his *Muscipula, Carmen Seculare*, and *Rhapsody*, and other poetry and numerous essays appeared in the *Gazette*.

The Governor Charles Calvert, whose elegy is also contained in the collection, is that mysterious individual whose abilities were unquestioned but whose origin is so obscure. In his letter of commission as Governor in 1720 he is called a cousin of the Proprietary, the 5th Lord Baltimore. We also know that on Nov. 27, 1709, Charles Calvert was commissioned as an

[1] "Diary of William Hearn, Aug. 7, 1732," in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI, 386.

ensign in the First Regiment of Foot, or Grenadier Guards, and that on Jan. 18, 1718, he was promoted to lieutenant and captain.[2]

[2] *Maryland Archives,* XXXIV, Preface.

After Calvert ceased to be Governor in 1727, he still remained a member of the Council till into 1733, when his name disappears from the list of those present at the meetings.

Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, whose letters in Latin to the Pope in behalf of her son Richard Coeur de Lion while he was imprisoned by the German Emperor are translated into English verse, was a woman with a colorful career and a personality vigorous enough to make her strong language to the Pontiff seem authentic. The Latin letters appeared in 1704 in the first volume of that monumental historical collection of the historiographer royal, Sir Thomas Rymer.[3]

The final poem in the collection is a short poem addressed "To the Queen." The letters to Eleanor are referred to, but the Queen is the reigning queen, Charlotte, wife of George II. In the line

You lose a daughter but you gain a son,

allusion is probably made to the marriage of her daughter Anne to William, Prince of Orange, in 1734. Other daughters were married in 1740 and 1743.

The *Maryland Gazette* for March 4, 1729, reports that the birthday of the Queen was celebrated in Annapolis by a dinner given by Governor Benedict Leonard Calvert and by a ball in the State House.

The Authors

Richard Lewis, the author of the first two poems, is described by Benedict Leonard Calvert in a letter to William Hearn in 1729 as "a schoolmaster here who formerly belonged to Eaton, a man really of ingenuity, and to my judgment well versed in poetry." Lewis was apparently in Maryland as early as Oct.

[3] Sir Thomas Rymer: *Foedera,* Tome I, p. 72.

22, 1725 [4] and remained at least as late as 1732. In his list of subscribers to the *Muscipula*, he credits Benedict Leonard Calvert with having taken 10 copies, John Ross 2, Charles Calvert 4, Daniel Dulany 3, and Nicholas Lowe 2. In a short poem Lewis dedicates the Annapolis edition to Benedict Leonard Calvert; the London edition was dedicated to Robert Lloyd.

As a poet, Lewis is probably best in his description of nature, as in *A Rhapsody*; several lines in the poem to Ross show genuine poetic feeling, albeit conventionally expressed. Such are

> May the strong ship in safety plow the main
> And may my patron his lost health regain,
> To cheer his heart may balmy breezes sweep
> Salubrious vapors from the smiling deep
> That when the seamen hail fair Albion's land
> And Calvert's foot salutes the welcome strand
> His noble brother may behold his face
> Adorn'd with every native blooming grace.

His poem to Calvert's memory, though valuable for its details of Calvert's life and personality, is an uninspired production.

The second poem to the memory of Benedict Leonard Calvert is much more vigorous in style than Lewis's. The impact of the final rhyme in the couplet is more emphatic, and the attitude of the poet much more realistic, as evidenced by his picture of Calvert's final resting place in the ocean depths,

> Where scaly monsters of amphibious breed
> And fish of prey on defunct bodies feed.

His references are generally to the Governor's public acts rather than to his private life with which Lewis deals so fully. The best lines of the poem are somewhat plagiarized from *A Dirge* by James Shirley, where they read,

> Only the actions of the just
> Smell sweet and blossom in the dust.

[4] L. C. Wroth, *A History of Printing in Colonial Maryland*, p. 48.

A suggested author for the poem is Ebenezer Cooke, who since he signed himself "Lauriat" to "*An Elegy on the Death of the Honourable Nicholas Lowe, Esq.*, in 1728, would perhaps feel called upon for a poem on Calvert. He is also known for his *Elegy on the Death of the Honourable William Lock, Esq.*, in 1732, in which he writes of the Muses,

> since they
> To Calvert's ghost did their devotions pay.[5]

an allusion, it may be, to this poem as his own work or to the general outpouring of poetry produced by Calvert's death.

As to the next poem, the long elegy on the death of Charles Calvert in 1734, there is also no indication of authorship . The copy of the *Maryland Gazette* has a prefatory note signed "Your Humble Servant," but where the name should be is found a black band, which may conceal the author's name or merely be a mark of mourning. As elegiac poetry the poem ranks far above the other verses in the scrap book, and deserves the greater circulation which print doubtless gave. The author has greater resources of poetical language and possesses greater imagination. His "Genius of the Country" weeping for Calvert, his address to the physicians, his philosophizing on death, his description of Maryland under Calvert's administration, his consolation of the widow, and especially his evocation of an angel to address the Genius of Maryland, set the poem above all the others for largeness of conception and dignity of thought. Witness lines such as the following:

> See where the glories of his deathless name,
> In war's triumphant field our wonder claim:
> His deeds in arms let glad Britannia tell,
> And speak, ye foes, who by his prowess fell,
> . . . . . .

[5] Printed in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XIV, p. 172. See also for the fullest treatment of Cooke, L. C. Wroth, *The Maryland Muse, by Ebenezer Cooke*, Introduction and Facsimile, in Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, October 1934.

Let England's sons with loud applause express,
And grateful Marlborough's worthy shade confess,
If Calvert had not fought, his triumphs had been less.
. . . . . .
But grateful thanks to courteous heaven bestow
That Calvert reigns above, and Ogle rules below.
. . . . . .
But when the brightness of their blooming charms
Shall bless some future worthy's longing arms,
In them their mother's virtues shall inspire
A merit equal to their Father's fire.

It may be that we have in this poem the only evidence of the work of a Maryland provincial who is entitled to a prominent place in the list of American colonial poets.

As to the metrical translations of Queen Eleanor's letters and the short poem to Queen Charlotte, little need be said, for they are dreary and lacking in any real poetical fire. They are easily the poorest of the poetry in this collection. For that reason only a short excerpt has been printed.

The Poems

To John Ross Esq[r] Clerk of the Council

To Gratitude this mournful verse is due
Calvert inspires the Lay inscribed to you;
To you oh Ross, whose Sympathising breast
Is now as mine with fear & hope possest
  While from my bow'r the vessel I survey
That waits to bear our Patron o'er the sea
I fear his danger on the rolling Main
The fancy'd danger gives me real pain.
  Ev'n now, methinks, impatient of Delay
The cheerful Sailors the huge Anchor weigh
Loud shouting now, they seem to unfurl their Sails
Expansive to the favourable Gales
  And now the vessel less'ning leaves my View
On Fancy's wing the vessel I persue
Guided, oh Watts by thy directing mind
Swift sailing, soon she leaves the land behind

Now o'er the fathomless Abyss she flies
Whose waves by warring winds provok'd arise
And restless bears her bounding to the Skies
Now sinking Sudden from the horrid height
Borne to the Bottom she is snatch'd from sight
Then Joyfull Hope condemns the fearfull thought
With black dispair & frantick sorrow fraught
Which in my mind such racking Anguish wrought
Shews me the sun with golden glory bright
And with an Azure Skie revives my Sight
The Softest gales that glad the gentle May . . .
Bear the Good Ship smooth sailing on its way
While variegated Dolphins round her play
Propitious Fate the voyage greatly bless
Oh let my Hope obtain this wish'd Success
May the Strong Ship in Safety plow the Main
And may my Patron his lost Health regain,
To cheer his heart may balmy breezes sweep
Salubrious vapours from the Smiling Deep
That when the Seamen hail fair Albion's Land
And Calvert's foot salutes the welcome Strand
His Noble Brother may behold his Face
Adorn'd with every Native blooming Grace
Which in his Cheek did sprightly Health display
When he to visit us persu'd his way.
If such good News some letter shall relate
To festive Joy the day I'll dedicate
And till these gladsome tydings greet my Ear
My mind must fluctuate Twixt hope and fear
Oft shall I recollect each cheerful Night
By Calvert's converse crown'd, with sweet delight
When he forgetful of his State would deign
Humane, your Humble Friend to entertain
Our Senators by their renewed Address
His Skill in gentle Government confess
His Speeches will with Eloquence declare
How much our Countrys Weal employ'd his Care
His Wisdom Shown in Council, Let thy page
Oh Ross, declare to the enquiring Age
For me unskill'd in Themes like these sublime
The utmost hymn of my unequal rhyme
Was my Accomplishd Patron to Display
Unbent from cares of State,—with Prudence gay

His mind with Learning's choicest Stores imbu'd
Polish'd by Travel,—gen'rous, just, and good
Dear to his Friends—To his Domesticks kind
To pardon Human Frailty still inclined
But now these Subjects far exceed my Art
While thoughts of his Departure tear my heart
Some future happier verse these truths shall tell
Safe may our Patron Sail!'

Dear Sr
Farewell
Annapolis May 10: 1732

Verses

To the Memory of his Exclly Benedict Leonard Calvert;
Late Governour
of the Province of Maryland
who died at Sea, June 1732.
Humbly Inscribed
To the Honble Edmond Jenings Esq.
Secretary of the P. Province

Illud plane non triste dolum, verum etiam luctuosum, quod decessit, dum ex praefectura redit, Decessit autem in Navi, procul a Fratre amantissimo, procul a Sororibus, Nihil ista ad Mortuum pertinent; sed pertinuerunt cum moreretur; pertinent ad hos qui supersunt, Jam quidem in flore primo Iunevis tantae indolis extinctus est, summa consecuturus si virtutis eius maturuissent. Quo ille Studiorum amore flagrabat! Quantum legit! Quo nunc omnia cum ipso sine fructu posteritatis abierunt.

Plin. Iuv. in Epist. Saturnino.[6]

[6] Adapted from Pliny the Younger's letter to Pompeius Saturninus (Letters, v, 21), which reads in the Loeb Library translation: "But what you add concerning Avitus, that he died in his return from the province where he had been Quaestor, is news, not only sad, but deplorable. That he died on board ship, at a distance from his fondly attached brother, and from his mother and sisters, are circumstances which though they cannot affect him now he is no more, yet undoubtedly did so in his last

Sr.

I did not hope my Numbers could Suspend
The Tears, that Flow'd for your Departed Friend;
For this the Debt which now is Humbly Paid,
To Benedict's Dear name hath been Delay'd,
Till sad Necessity our Seeming Foe,
Had Shown the Ineffectual Force of Woe;
Till freed from Grief, you calmly might peruse
The Lay, Inspir'd by my Lamenting Muse.
Tho' well I know that my unpolish'd Verse
Is much to mean his Virtues to Rehearse,
Yet 'tis unfit that Calvert good and great,
Who Shone with Lustre in his Life's Short State,
Should to the King of Terror yeild his Breath;
And Sleep, unsung, in the Vast Cave of Death.
From dawning Life I might his Story Trace,
And give him Fame from his Illustrious Race;
But let the Herald thence his Honour raise,
His proper Merit Claims the Poets praise,
When from the Schools in early Youth, he came
To those fair Domes, near Isis' Sacred Stream,
Where Learning sits Sublime, in Solemn State,
And round the Throne ennobled Sages Wait;
Among those Sages Benedict appear'd,
And to their Queen his earnest Pray'r pferr'd;
That She with Libr'l Arts would grace his Mind
And form his Soul by Science most refin'd.
Well pleased with what her Votary requir'd,
That He might gain the Knowledge he Desir'd,
She blest the Youth with prudence to Explore
The Mines, Containing her most Valu'd Oar
And He from them acquir'd a Noble Store.
He knows those Rules that Teach the Thinking Art
And how Mechanic Powers their Force exert.

moments, and still affect those he has left behind. It adds poignancy to our grief that a young man of his shining talents should be cut off in his early prime, and snatched from those high honors to which his virtues, had they been permitted to grow to their full maturity, would certainly have raised him. How did his bosom glow with the love of learning! How many books did he peruse! nay, how many did he compose! But his labors are now perished with him, and for ever lost to posterity." It will be seen how this passage has been adapted to the facts about Calvert.

The Elegance of Verse his Taste Refin'd,
Morals and History, their Treasure joyn'd
With true Philosophy, t'enrich his Mind
Theology employ'd his Deepest Thought,
Its Sacred Verities He Strictly Sought.
When thus He had adorn'd his nat'ral Parts
With Choicest Flow'rs of Academic Arts;
That Travel might the Gentleman Compleat,
To Study Men He left the Muses Seat,
Resolv'd to View the far fam'd Latian Shores,
Where Gray Antiquity displays her Stores.
But e'er He Visited a foreign Soil,
From Nice Inquiries in his Native Isle
He learn't her Works of Nature, and of Art,
And Could to Strangers all her Charms Impart.
Records and Charters old with Painful View
Examin'd, He from them such Secrets Drew
As none but Ablest Antiquarians knew.
Of those, assisted by the Gravers Care
With Cost He purchased many a Transcript Rare,
Whose Characters to Curious Eyes might tell,
What Vast Donations, were by Royal Seal,
In England to Religious Uses given,
Thus to Avert th'empending Wrath of Heaven.
This Wealth which Travellers too much neglect,
In Italy Procured Him high Respect,
Where' ere He went with Love of Science Warmed
The Literati by his Converse Charmed,
With Pleasure Taught the Stranger what they Knew
And open'd their Musea to his View,
Nor travell'd He to please alone his Sight,
To improve his Mind was his Supreme Delight,
He knew the Polity of every State
Thro' which He past, the Arts which made them Great,
Or took their once Exalted Power away,
And sunk them in their present sad Decay.
With a Sagacious Prospect, He surveyed,
Those Cities, that have lost, or gain'd, a Trade,
From Liberty he found their Blessings flow,
And Slavery occasion'd all their Woe.
He saw and Shudder'd at the Mournful View,
How false Religion Triumph'd o'er the True,
Instruct'd hence, to prize his Native Isle,

Where Liberty, on all Bestows her smile;
Where Commerce joyns Mankind in Social Bands
Where poorest Swains Securely till their Lands
And none Dare Snatch the Harvest from their Hands,
Where Conscience Scorns an Inquisition's Chaines,
And Piety o'er Superstition Reigns.

To taste her Sweets, which gave his Soul Delight
Furnish'd with Knowledge, useful and polite;
Home He Returned. . . . But soon pursued his Way
By his Dear Brother Sent that Realm to Sway
Planted with People by his Grandsire's Hand,
Obedient all to Baltimore's Command.

And He who knew the justest Arts of Rule,
Train'd in the World's most experienc'd School;
With Care, the Evil He had seen, Eschew'd,
And wisely Strove to Cultivate the Good.
His Government no cruel Actions Stain'd,
The Injur'd not without Redress Complain'd,
Benevolence inspir'd his Tender Heart,
With Charitable Hand his Wealth t'impart;
To those whom Want oppress'd his Dole was Given,
Diffusive, Silent as the Dew of Heaven.

To punish Vice, t'assert fair Virtues Cause,
T'enforce a due Obedience to the Laws;
T'advance our Trade, Employ'd his Daily Thought
By various ways our Happiness He Sought.

But why do I presume in Humble Verse
His Actions, as a Ruler, to Rehearse?
Let History to those Extend her Care,
While I his Mild Domestic Life Declare.
There I behold him in the Sweetest Lights,
And every Glance a pleasing pain Excites;
Pleas'd I Recall those Joys which He inspir'd,
Griev'd I bewail Him dead, whom I admir'd.

Can I forget those Hours, when as a Friend
To Entertain me He would Condescend?
Charm'd with the instructive accents of his Tongue,
On all He said my Thought regardful hung.
When he of Social Virtues would discourse,
And Recommend it with engaging Force,
He could her Charms divine so well Disclose,
As might have conquer'd her Obdurate Foes.

Nor could I but with Infinite Surprize

Regard a Man in early Life so Wise;
To read in Choicest Works of Antient Wit
And what the best of Modern pens have writ,
Yet Nicely bred, and from all Symptoms free
Of that Scholastic Sickness Pedantry.
When Gaily dress'd, to Grace the Publick Ball,
He to soft Music mov'd around the Hall;
His Artfull Step, his Unaffected Air,
His Easy Grandeur, Charm'd the Circling Fair;
Each Dancer his Superior Skill Confess'd,
And Pleasure Glow'd in each Spectator's Breast.
But I with Him the Highest Joys have known,
When I have seen him in his Home, alone;
Then, his Description set before mine Eye
What e're was Beautiful in Italy.
I view'd each fam'd Antiquity in Rome
I gaz'd with Transport on St. Peter's Dome;
Next I the Place Superb admir'd,
Whose Paintings Seem'd with living Warmth inspir'd
Thro Gardens, Grottos, Labyrinths, I rove,
And meet Poetick Shades in every Grove,
I search'd the Vatican, whose Walls Contain
The never dying offspring of the Brain;
In Mental Vision, Eager I Peruse,
The Written Labours of the Mantuan Muse;
And trace their Antique Draughts, almost Obscure
But which in Calverts * Prints shall still Endure
Those Prints, whose Curious Lines have Taught me more
Than Virgil's Commentators could before,
I Walked great Cosmo's Gallery, Where Art
In Statues shows the Passions of the Heart,
And † Venus throws from every Limb a Dart.

* The Vatican MS. of Virgil which is of great Antiquity had its Margins etc adorn'd with many Drawings representing the History of the Poem. These were Copied by an Eminent Graver, at the expence of Cardinal ..... and only 3 Lots of them printed off. The Drawings in the MS. are almost worn out by Time most of the Plates have been destroy'd, and those Prints of Mr. Calverts (in which are Seen the Habits and Architecture of the Romans, delineated from antique Statues and Edifices now gone to Ruin; and which seem to Explain many Difficulties in Virgil, and other Classicks) may be look'd on as very valuable Originals.

† Venus of Medicis, the famous Statue made by Praxiteles.

Where on the Medals everlasting Page,
Exist Triumphant over Times fierce Rage,
The Men, who Grac'd the Worlds most Noble Age.
If I had Travell'd, I should scarce discern,
More than my Ears from Benedict might Learn.
When at his Table, round the Social Bowl,
His Friends, Delighted with his Flow of Soul
Have Sate;—how would his Mirth their Bosoms warm?—
How would his Tunefull Notes the Hearers Charm?
Sure no Man better knew the Arts to Please,
No Man behav'd with more becoming Ease;
Good Breedings, Gallantry, and Humour Gay,
When He Discours'd would round his Table Play;
And Gloomy Care was Banish'd far away.
Yet Still from Carelessness his Deed was free,
His Thoughtful Brow Display'd Serenity;
Humility, not Meanness, was his Guide,
And Greatness fill'd his Breast, Excluding Pride.
Forgive me Jening's that I offer you
His Character, whom you Exactly knew;
He would to you his inmost Thought Impart,
You could Survey the Springs that Moved his Heart.
His Piety to Him who Reigns above,
To Humankind his Universal Love,
His Sentiments, by Justest Rules Refin'd,
His Meek, his Modest, amiable Mind,
Your Intimacy gave you to Discern,
which I, at best, Imperfectly, Could Learn.
Now I behold him in the Sorrowing Throng,
Thro' which, his Chariot Slowly mov'd along,
To bear him to the Ship, Whence never more,
Shall He Descend, alive, to Touch the Shore.
How Chang'd, alas! from whom I once had known!
In him long-lingering Disease has Shown,
Her Wastefull Rays, and Mark'd him for her own.
Her Pallid Shrowd', o'erspread his Hollow Cheek;
And Death had only left him Pow'r to Speak.
The Chariot then seem'd Dismal as his Hearse,
'Twas then, Despairing, I accus'd * the Verse
In which, my Hope had Fancy'd He once more

* Verses, To Mr. Ross, on Mr. Calvert's Departure from Maryland May 10th 1732.

Should see his Brother, on fair Albion's Shore.
No more was He to See his Native Place,
No more to feel great Baltimore's Embrace;
In one Short Month his Soul Ascends the Skies,
Deep in the Sea's Vast Vault his Body lies.
Thus to the Ocean Wave the Solar Ray,
Descending bears from us from the Cheerful Day,
Yet then by Power from the Almighty given
He gilds with New born Beams the Eastern Heaven.
So Benedict Superior now to Pain,
With Lustre Shines amid thetherial Plain.
What tho' no Tomb inscrib'd with his Dear Name
Delivers down to Distant Time his Fame,
His Benefaction on the School bestow'd,
By which his Love to Maryland He Show'd
Shall Living Monuments for ever raise,
Who shall in various Tongues Proclaim his Praise.
From Lust of Fame if his Donation Flow'd
It had on his own Oxford been bestow'd,
For which her Sons his Praises would Rehearse
In Terse Orations; and in Charming Verse,
While Time Revolv'd the Donor's Anniverse,
But fond of doing Good, nor heeding Fame,
He sought not to perpetuate his Name.
Yet if Prophetick Truth my breast inspire,
Some Greatfull Youth warm with Poetic Fire,
Thy School Annapolis in Time shall Raise;
Justly to Sing her Benefactors Praise,
Thy Funds were Sunk, thy School had soon Decay'd
Unless Supported by his Bounteous Aid.
Let that Blest Bard to Maryland Declare
That to inform her Sons was Calverts Care
Had Heaven Restor'd him to his Native Land
If there his wonted Health He had Regain'd
The Gift He gave was small, to what his Mind,
Had to Advance good Literature design'd,
His Pow'rfull Entreaties would have mov'd;
His Noble Friends who useful Learning Lov'd,
To Build a College, where our Youth might find,
Instruction, to Adorn each Studious Mind;
And for their Use, his Books were all Design'd.
endow
But Sir, till such a Genius shall arise,
Oh let not Calverts Friend my Muse Despise;

Who Shows these Flow'rs, Devoted to his Shade,
Cherished by you, their Beauties will not Fade;
Till a more Greatfull Garland may be made.

I am
Sr.
Your most Obedient
Humble Servant
Richd. Lewis.

A Poem

In Memory of the Hon^{ble} Benedict Leonard Calvert Esq^{R}

Lieutenant Governor in the Province of Maryland who died at Sea on Board the Charles Cap^{t} Dan^{l} Watts Commander on Return to Great Britain

Memor esto brevio

What mean these Tears, Is Benedictus fled
Gone to the watry Mansion of the Dead
Has he—
Who Cloath'd the Naked & the hungry fed
In Thetis Chrystal Bosom laid his Head
Where Scaly Monsters of Amphibious Breed
And Fish of Prey on defunct Bodies feed
Alas! It matters not, when once we die
As Sure all must Submitt to Destiny
Whether in Natures Chilly womb we Sleep
Or be Committed Prisoners to the Deep
So our Immoral Souls, mount to the blest
Where Benedict (I hope) is gone to rest
Whose Charity Speaks louder in his praise
Than all the Pane-gyricks thought can raise
Or Spencer (if alive) cou'd on him Sing
Who tasted of the Heleconian Spring
Such was his boundless Liberality
To those who Objects were of Charity
Tho' others oft did of his Alms dispose
Who he believ'd Scorn'd on him to impose
[Bu]t Choosing rather to be thought Rapacious
[T]han to appear in public Ostentatious

[W]which gave Occasion to the lisening Crowd
[An]d giddy Multitude, to talk too loud
[B]ut they who read his last Devise will find
[H]e was no Miser, but possess'd a mind
[A]bove the Common Levell of Mankind . . .
In polite Learning, Eloquence & Wit
He made him for his Lordships Service fit
[I]n the Pretorian Chair as Chief to Sit . . .
[T]here forty long revolving moons and more
[Si]nce Benedict first Landed on this Shore
[ ] is, he Govern'd with a gentle hand
[Gre]at Britain's free born Subjects in this Land
[But] tho' he Studyed more the real good
[Of] Maryland, than some who Stiffly Stood
[Fo]r Liberty—w^{ch} Benedict neer Sought
[To] undermine, in Word, in Deed or thought
Yet 'twas (to be misunderstood) his fate
By those who Sat beneath the Helm of State.
In Matters of the most Important Weight
[W]hich made him when with publick Cares oppress'd
Deny himself the needfull hour of rest
To make the People easier, but in vain
The more he Strove, the greater was the pain
[W]hich to his worn out Constitution gave
That Mortall wound, which Sunk him to the Grave,
But as the Actions of the Good and Just
Smell Sweet (when Dead) and blossom in the Dust,
So his will from the Ocean always Cast
A Fragrant Scent, & blossom to the last
The Muse thus having Shown her utmost Skill
In Poetry hopes Some more Lofty Quill
to his Merit Justice, who by time
[last line of manuscript defaced and illegible]

THE
MARYLAND GAZETTE

From Friday March 8, to Friday March 15, 1734. [Numb. LX.]

Mr. Parks,

Having been requested for a larger Number of Copies of the following Elegy than I am able to comply with; in Grati-

tude to my Good Benefactors, whose Respect to the Worthy CHARLES CALVERT, Esq; deceased has been expressed by their Generosity to the Author, I intreat the Favour it may be inserted in your News Paper; and at the same Time beg that those Gentlemen who have desired a particular Copy, would be pleased to accept this Publication, in Lieu thereof. I am,

Sir,

Your humble Servant.

An ELEGY on the much lamented Death of the Honourable CHARLES CALVERT, Esq; formerly Governour in Chief of the Province of Maryland; and at the Time of his Decease, Commissary-General, Judge of the Admiralty, Surveyor-General of the Western Shore, and President of the Council. Who departed this Life, February 2, 1733-4.

Nascentes morimur, finisque ab Origine pendet.

Beneath the baleful Yews unfruitful Shade,
Where no enliv'ning Beams the Gloom invade,
The Genius of the Country Mourning sat,
Repin'd at Heav'n, and blam'd the Will of Fate;
Her Hair untouch'd and Iv'ry Comb forbore,
And Dress employ'd her busy Thoughts no more;
The Spear and Shield aside neglected lay,
And Cornucopia's Harvest droop'd away:
Pale Brief had chas'd the Beauties from her Face,
Nipp'd all her Bloom, and rifled every Grace;
Excess of Sorrow, heighten'd by Despair,
Rent her sad Breast, a dire Intruder there.
Thrice she assay'd by Words to speak her Woes,
And Thrice reluctant Sorrows interpose,
At length, thro' Tears, unwillingly to obey,
Words, intermix'd with Sighs, thus forc'd their Way,
Unhappy me! Illustrious CALVERT's dead,
Irrevocably gon! She wept and said.
O say! what Ear can hear the fatal Sound,
And not in Floods of gen'rous Grief he drown'd?
What stony Breast receives the fatal News,
And yet a pious Sorrow dares refuse?
Ye Sons of Aescalapius boast no more
In Terms abstruse your Medicinal Pow'r,

Dire Tabes spreads her deadly Blasts around,
And not a single Antidote is found,
To check the Poison's Force, or heal the Mortal Wound.
Rapacious Death! could no inferior Prize,
No meaner Life thy thirsty Race suffice?
Could none but him thy Sacrifice be found,
Thro' whom the Province feels a gen'ral Wound!
Could neither Prudence turn thy Dart aside,
Nor martial Courage thy Attacks abide?
Could neither Justice awe thy fatal Hand,
Nor Mercy sooth thy savage Mind to stand?
Sure could one Virtue of the Heav'nly Train,
Command thy insatiate Hunger to refrain,
CALVERT, whose Soul united All possest,
Had still alive these mourning Regions blest.
Learn hence ye Mortals, 'tis in vain to fly,
In vain to plead, when Death approaches nigh;
Beauty and Youth, and all Perfections join'd
With fruitless Labour, strive his Pow'r to bind;
Confide no more in all that's Good and Great,
When even CALVERT's Self submits to Fate.
He's gone too soon to his Eternal Home,
The bright Example of the Age to come:
He's gone too soon, and with regret we find
He scarce has left an Equal here behind.
See where the Glories of his deathless Name,
In Wars triumphant Field our Wonder claim:
His Deeds in Arms let glad BRITANNIA tell,
And speak ye Foes who by his Prowess fell,
Whene'er his Country's Cause unsheath'd his Sword,
And Aid like his, in sad Distress implor'd:
What Trophy's were his matchless Valours due,
What Towns were ta'en, what hostile Force he slew,
Let England's Sons with loud Applause express,
And grateful MARLBOROUGH's worthy Shade confess,
If Calvert had not fought, His Triumphs had been less.
Nor less, when Peace had call'd the Conqu'ror home,
Did Rules of Government his Care become;
Alike well vers'd in Arts of Peace as War,
The Wise PROPRIETOR's Paternal Care,
Intreated his Assistance to withstand
Th'impending Ruin of this sinking Land.
With Joy to serve the Province here he came,

Resigning Laurels of immortal Fame,
Our sinking Trade and Country to retrieve,
And grant Success, which he alone could give.
He, he alone, the secret Skill could find
At once to govern and to please Mankind;
To strike at once a Pleasure with an Awe,
And give a Satisfaction with a Law,
While ev'ry Subject yields with grateful Mind
Obedience, rather courted than enjoin'd.
No Widows of Oppression did complain,
No Orphans Tears implor'd Redress in vain,
No proud Insultor trampled o'er the Laws,
No Bribes could change the Justice of a Cause,
No Strangers Cries unheeded reach'd his Ear,
No humble Wretch prefer'd a fruitless Pray'r,
No jarring Factions, murm'ring Discontent,
Disturb'd his well directed Government;
But glad Submission, Happiness, and Peace,
Smooth'd ev'ry Brow, and smil'd in ev'ry Face.
Secure beneath his kind protecting Shade,
The Planter saw his honest Labour paid;
Secure the Merchant plows the Watry Main,
While wholesome Laws defend his well-got Gain;
Secure the Artist gives his Rule the Praise,
And dates his thriving Trade from Calvert's Days;
Secure Minerva's Infant glimm'ring Light,
With rising Dawn dispell'd the Clouds of Night,
Far driving barb'rous Ignorance away;
And Calvert's Morning usher'd in the Day.
Alike to private Life his Worth extends,
The best of Husbands, Fathers, Masters, Friends:
Untaught to close his ever open Door,
Courted the Wealthy, and reliev'd the Poor;
With plentiful Repast his Board supply'd,
Inviting all, to none Access deny'd.
His gen'rous Soul disdain'd to be confin'd,
And knew no streighter Bounds than all Mankind.
The Sick, the Needy, and the Pris'ners, fly
To him, with firm Assurance of Supply:
With charitable Eyes he view'd their Wants,
And what their Mis'ry craves, his Goodness grants:
But now the Gen'rous Patron lives no more;
The Glory of this sad lamenting Shore.

No more his cheerful Presence glads our Eyes,
But low in Death's Embrace interr'd he lies,
He who so oft the Wretch condemn'd repriev'd,
So oft th'Offenders destin'd Doom retriev'd.
He who could give to Life a longer Date,
And lengthen out the parting Thread of Fate,
No kind Reprieve, no sparing Mercy finds,
But his too short Life giving Breath resigns.
O mourning Relict of the best lov'd Land,
The only Treasure that his Soul ador'd!
O mourning Fair, what Tortures wreck your Breast!
What piercing Sorrows rob your Soul of Rest!
What moving Words your Anguish can express!
What Language speak, and not describe it less!
What but your Goodness, Virtue, tender Care,
Your Love and Charms can equal your Despair.
Nor with inferior Grief will I bemoan,
With Parent Throws my best departed Son,
CALVERT, thy Country's Darling, and her Boast,
The shining Honour of our Western Coast;
Thou great Protector of thy Peoples Right,
Alike their Admiration and Delight,
What Tribute to thy Memory can be paid
Worthy th'Acceptance of thy Honour'd Shade.
More did the Dictates of her troubled Heart
Strife in Grief-easing Accents to impart,
When Tides of Sorrow overwhelm'd her Breast,
Opprest her Language, and forbad the rest.
While thus tormenting o'er her Soul
Tyrannick Reign usurp'd without Controul,
Swift on his flutt'ring Pinions thro' the sky,
An Angel Form descended from on high;
His Air Majestick, and his Mien Divine,
With Heav'nly Glory grac'd transcendent shine.
His Rays th'immortal Messenger confest,
Sent from above, who thus the Fair Addrest:
GENIUS of MARYLAND, immortal Fair,
Why thus resign'd a Victim to Despair;
You who contain within your pregnant Womb
Heroes unborn, and Empires yet to come,
Arise! thy Province claims thy Guardian Aid,
Nor longer Heav'ns Divine Decrees upbraid:
'Tis true, the Worthy's Mem'ry well might claim

A gen'ral Sorrow lasting as his Fame;
But since the Great Creator has requir'd
The same good Soul that he himself inspir'd;
Since he who form'd the animated Clay
Has deem'd it meet to take its Breath away,
Let unavailing Grief be laid aside,
And follow Resignation's better Guide,
Your empty Pray'rs for his Return forsake;
'Twere next to Sacrilege to wish him back.
  Say, who shall stay JEHOVAH's lifted Hand;
His stedfast Will what Being shall withstand;
Or what created Pow'r shall dare to countermand.
  Lo! in the Glorious Mansions of the Blest,
CALVERT partakes of Everlasting Rest.
No more th'ungrateful World his Thoughts employs,
Nor interrupts his never fading Joys;
No more the gen'ral Business of Mankind
Shall discompose his ever peaceful Mind;
But radiant Crowns his Virtues shall attend
With Bliss divine that ne'er shall know an End.
  Nor longer shall your Province mourn its Fate,
While OGLE's Conduct guides the Helm of State:
Attending Justice round his Seat prevails,
Oppression flies before her lifted Scales;
With cheerful Eyes she sees her Pow'r maintain'd,
Well pleas'd the Sword is plac'd in OGLE's Hand:
Directing Wisdoms all instructive Rays
Inspire his Councils, and inform his Ways:
In whitest Robes relenting Mercy drest,
Presides the Darling Fav'rite of his Breast:
In him shall ev'ry Virtue shine display'd,
And CALVERT's Loss in Him shall doubly be repaid.
  He said, and strait directs his airy Flight.
With Wings expanded to the Realms of Light.
  The Genius with her Eyes pursu'd the Sprite,
Til Space immense deceiv'd her wavring Sight;
Her hands extended to the distant Skies;
O welcome News! with Extasy she cries!
CALVERT remov'd from all his Toils, enjoys
Perpetual Happiness that never cloys.
No more shall unavailing Sorrows rise,
No more shall briny Torrents swell these Eyes;
But grateful Thanks to courteous Heav'n bestow,

That Calvert reigns above, and Ogle rules below.
And you lamenting Comfort weep no more,
No more your melancholy Loss deplore;
But calm the boistrous Passions of your Breast,
And lull your agonizing Soul to Rest.
Oh! let his offspring now your Comfort prove
Those tender Pledges of your mutual Love,
Great as their Father, as their Mother Fair,
See they intreat your kind maternal Care:
The budding Beauties of their infant Age,
Already the admiring World engage;
But when the Ripeness of their blooming Charms
Shall bless some future Worthy's longing Arms,
In them their Mother's Virtue shall inspire
A Merit equal to their Father's Fire.
Nor tho' our fruitless Sorrow refrain,
Shall he in dark Oblivion's Grave remain.
While Chesapeak's luxurious Waves repay
Their tributary Rivers to the Sea;
While deep Patowmack's Spring remains unknown,
And Indian Kings our Lord's Dominion own,
So long shall Calvert's Honour, Praise, and Name,
Shine in the Annals of Immortal Fame:
So long shall future Times his Actions tell,
And faintly copy what they never can excell.

Foreign

A Letter of Eleanor Queen of England to the Pope wherein she mournfully implores his assistance for the release of her Son Richard King of Engld

Eleanor long travell'd in Afflictions Road
Created Sovereign by an angry God
Queen of this Realm in Indignation made
Begs and Intreats the Pontiffs friendly aid
Be now a Father all your Power exert
And kindly take a wretched Mothers part
I thought indeed to stifle all my Grief
To mourn in Private and seek no relief
For such excessive Brief as mine is found
To rage like madness and it knows no Bound
For Lord Companion no nor Friend it cares

Not even you yourself sometime it spares
Forgive then each unguarded Word or Line
For never sure was Sorrow such as mine
Missfortune on Missfortune I engross
Domestick Evils and a Public Loss
I Grieve and Vex not for Myself alone
But mourn a Nations mischiefs with mine own
A Universal Grievance makes me weep
The Arrows of the Lord have struck me deep
My Spirits are exhausted while I Grieve
I Breath its true but Can't be said to Live
Divided People into Ruin cast
Distracted Nations Provinces laid wast
And all the Western Church pour forth their Cares
And mix their Lamentations with their Prayers.

. . . . . .

To the Queen

Great Queen to Pity the distressed Inclin'd
Let here a Mourning muse acceptance find
Behold a Grief which is but Rarely seen
The Sorrows of a Mother and a Queen
See her Surrounded with a Crowd of Fears
See Eleanor see Majesty in Tears
Her Darling Born to Rule and to Command
A Tyrants Captive in a distant Land
Under the Burden of her Woes she faints
How Deep her Sighs how moving her Complaints
A Weeping Queen is what the World Cant bear
It makes a People tremble and despair
Far different the Lot of her who Reigns
For Undisturb'd you Quiet Heaven Ordains
To you Great Queen its happiness imparts
You Rule a Sovereign in the Peoples Hearts
The Sons of Eleanor Gave her no rest
Your happy in a Prudent Offspring Bless'd
Domestick Feuds and Quarrels her Dismay
Serene you Govern Chearful they Obey
Her Dearest Richard lost she makes her Moan
You Lose a daughter but you find a Son

Finis

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY.

Edited by James A. Padgett, Ph. D.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine,* Vol. XXXII, 1, page 28.)

To George Washington [53]

Shepherdstown Sept[r] 19th 1786

D[r]. General—

When I wrote you from alexandria on the Sixth Ins[t]. I was on my way to the Southward and Did not Return to this place untill Last Evening which was the Reason you Did not hear from me Sooner what Suckess we had in the Experiment I mentioned to you in that Letter that we Expected to have with the Boat, M[r] Barnes [54] got her Ready on Saterday the 9[th] Ins[t] and put about three tuns of Stone in her and Could not avoid takeing in nine or ten persons that was waiting To See her Tryed which made near four tuns on Board, when She set out, the River being a Little up was in his favor as it was not naturally Rapid where tryal was made, he went up about two hundred yards greatly to the Satisfaction and Admiration of the Spectators, but not so to himself, for the following Reasons, first the mechinery Being fixed on But one Boat, Instead of two, as first Intended prevented her from going So Steadey as She Ought To have Done, the people on Board Shouting and Runing Backward and forward aded much to this Inconvenance, In the next place the poles or Shovers was made of wood with Iron Spikes at their Lower End, to Sink them, which Spikes proved too Light, and Caused the poles Very frequently to Slip on the Bottom, But the greatest Determent was that when a pole got a good holt on One Side and not on the Other it had a Tendancey to give their a Heel, which would throw part of the wheel out of water, which weakened the power, and would

[53] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[54] Mr. Barnes was a brother-in-law of Rumsey, note 26.

often Loosen the foot of the pole, So as to make it Slip. These Inconvenanceys Mr Barnes Related to me, they were what I too much Expected from a tryal with one Boat, But not having time, nor yet being Able to Build another at the present, was therefore Obliged to Risk the one, It was on wensday on my way Up that I got these accounts form Mr Barnes, we then went on Board for another Experiment, But the water had got so Lowe that It Did not move But Little more than Two miles per hour, which by my Calculations I had aCou[nt]ed only Sufficient to overcome the friction of the Mechine, we Moved up Slowly for Sum Distance During which time two or thre persons (acquantances) Colected on the Shore and Informed me that many others would be Down Very Soon I therefore thought it Best to put to Shore and take of Sum of the Mechinery, as the first Impression Received of her going was favorable, the Current then too Slack To Impress them again with an Openion that She would make much progress, the Company Came Down and Insisted much on Seeing her go. I excused myself from it, altho almost Induced to push up to pains falls which was not far above us But on Considering the Lightness of our poles and the Strenth of the Current in (that place) I Doubted their Sinking, Besides their is (you know) many Rocks in that place that Lye But Little under water that might Break the wheel, and Spectators Generally give their opinion According to what they See, without any alowance for Accidents, which Determined me not to attempt It publicly, nor have I made any farther Experiment Since. It is Evedant from what has Been Done that She would make a tolerable progress in all Currents, that is Strait and Clear of Rocks, and moves three miles per hour, or upwards, But will go But Slow in Currents Under that Velosity. It is also Certain that It will never Answer a Valuable purpos Except when put upon two Boats (as it Cannot be Steadey on One) In which Case their is not the Least Doubt But it will answer Every purpose that was Ever Expected from it. I Cannot with the propriety Expect you to Come to See her in her present Situation, But if you would wish to See [her]

Before any alteration is made, and will Lett me kno[w] It by a Line I will Bring her Down to Sum Conven[ient] place and will Sent you word where to Come to See her [55]

I am Sir with great Regard your most Ob[t] and Very hb[l] Serv[t].

James Rumsey

His Excellency George Washington Esq[r]
Mount Vernon—Honored by Cap[t] Wessfall

To George Washington [56]

Annapolis Dec[r] 17th 1787

Sir

Inclosed you have Copies of two Certificates of what the Boat performed at Sum tryals we have been makeing I have a number more but as they are the Same in Substance I thought it not nessesary to Copy them, we Exhibeted under many Disadvantages and Should not have Come forth publicly untill Spring if it had not been for M[r] Fitches [57] Stealing a march on me in Virginia I have sent Down a number of Certificates to the asemblely of the first Days performance the Second was not then made I also Inclose you a Contrast Drew by Cap[t] Redinger Between M[r] Fitches Boat and mine.—I met with Governor Johnson [58] here, he told me of a Letter he had wrote you respecting Sum Conversation that him and me had about my applying Steam to work the Boat as well as I Remember it happened in oct[er] 1785, when I Informed him of my Intention of applying Steam and Spoke to him for to Cast Cillinders for

[55] Rumsey's first idea, which he tried to put into effect in his first boat, was to suck water in the front of the boat and out at the rear with steam, and his boat as tried out at this time was a pole boat which some claim was not a steamboat. Westcott, *Life of John Fitch*, 138, 173. See Smithsonian Institute for model of the boat of James Rumsey.

[56] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[57] John Fitch and James Rumsey each claimed to have invented the steamboat. Each had his supporters in this contention at the time and ever since. Compare Thompson Westcott, *Life of John Fitch*, and George M. Beltzhoover, *James Rumsey, Inventor of the Steamboat.*

[58] See note 49.

me, he aloud that from what Little he Could gather on the Subject he Suposed it to be quite an other kind of a machine I told him that the modle which I showed to you was, he than Said he thought I had Used you Ill I Told him I beleived not for that I had Informed you of my Intention to try Steam, I Can Recolect no more that was Said upon that Subject But it Seems that Governor Johnson has taken Up a Rong Ideea of the matter and Supposed that I had Informed you of my Intention to apply Steam at the time I obtained your Certificate [59] nor Did I know untill now that he Viewed my Information in that Light, nor Did I Ever Conceive that I had gave you any information Respecting it only that I had Such a thing in Idea untill the Letter that I wrote you on the 10th of march 1785, nor had I before near about that time Reduced it to any form Suficiantly promising to Determin me to make The tryal I as then Determened, as I wrote you as follows "I have taken the greatest pains to afect an other kind of Boats upon the principles I was mentioning to you at Richmond I have the plasure to Inform you—that I have brought it to great perfection it is true it will Cost Sum more than the other way but when done is more mannageable and Can be worked by a few hands the power is amence and I have Quite Convinced myself that Boats of pasage may be made to go against the Current of Missippa or ohio River or in the gulf Stream from the Leward [60] to the Windward Isllands [61] from Sixty to one hundred miles per day" [62]—this was Certainly an Information and was what I aluded to when I toald govenor Johnson that I had Informed you of it, a Little farther on in the Same Letter is the following paragraff—"the plan I intend to persue is to build the Boat with boath the powers on Board on a Large Scale."—As you Did not make any objection to the plan proposed when you wrote me an answer to the Letter I Considered myself at Liberty to go on Upon the Steam plan Conected with the other Nor Did I drop the Idea of Doing So untill Long

[59] For this certificate see note 25.

[60] See note 31. [61] See note 32.

[62] Rumsey to Washington, March 10, 1785.

after I had the Honor of Seeing Last But not Being able to accomplish the Building of an Other Boat and finding by the Little Experiment I made that one Boat would not Do alone I was at a great Loss to know how to act and if it had not been on account of your Certificate I Would then have Quit it, being under so many Embarrasments and nearly a new machine to be made before any thing Co^{u}ld be Done as my new Constructed Boiler made Such hot Steam as to melt all the Soft Solder and News Comeing frequently that M^{r} Fitch would Soon Come forth, ad to this that the Ice Carryed away my Boat and Broke thirty feet out of her middle, a Large familty to Support no Buisness going on, In Debted, and what Little money I Could Rake together Expended, a gentleman has Since assisted me to whome I have Mortgaged a few family negroes which must soon go if I Do not Raise the money for him before Long. my present plan is so Simple Cheap and powerfull that I think it would be Rong to attemt the former plan, I would wish to Say Sumthing to the Public about it, on your account. But Doubt my own Abelityes to give that Satesfacteon I would wish, It has gave me much uneasyness Especally as I have By a train of Unforeseen Events So often apeared to you as a parson acting Inconsistantly and I Can Say in truth however unfortunate I have been in the attempt that my greatest ambetion is & has been to Deserve your Esteem—I intend to philidelphia Before my Return, and in January I will (if in my power) go to South Carolina & gergia—your Letter to govenor Johnson prevented M^{r} Fitch from geting an act here You have Sir my Sincerest thank for the many favors you Conferred on me—I am your Much Obliged Hb^{l} hb^{l} Serv^{t}—

James Rumsey

P. S. the Original papers from which These are Coppyed was acknowledged bef[ore] Magestrates and the County Seal affixe[d to] them, which I Did not think nessesary to Copy I am with great Esteem—J. Rumsey

Excellency George Washington Esq^{r}
Mount Vernon

To George Washington [63]

[Enclosed with letter of December 17, 1787 but in Washington papers] under December 3, 1787

On Monday December the 3d 1787 I was Requested to See an Experiment on potomack River made by—James Rumsey's Steam Boat and had no Small pleasure to See her get on her way with near half her Burthen on Board and move against the Current at the Rate of three Miles per hour by force of Steam without any External application whatever, I am well Informed and Verily believe that the Machine at present is Very Imperfect and by no meanes Capable of performing what it would Do if Compleated. I have not the Least Doubt but it may be brought Into Common Use and bee of great advantage to navegation as the Machine Is Simple, Light, and Cheap, and will be Exceedingly Durable, and Does not occupy a Space of more than four feet by two and a half—

Horatio Gates. Late Majr
General of the Continental army— [64]

Copy

Being Requested to See an Experiment made by—James Rumseys Steam Boat on potomack River on Tuesday the 11 of December 1787 it was with great pleasure that we Saw her get

[63] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

[64] Horatio Gates (1728–April 10, 1806) was born in England; served in the French and Indian War; made brigadier-major in 1760; bought an estate in Berkley county, Virginia, at the close of the war; was made adjutant-general with the rank of brigadier in 1775; was one of the men mixed up in the Conway Cabal; he received credit for winning Saratoga, but Schuyler should have the honor; and was made president of the Board of War and Ordinance in 1777. He retired to his farm in Virginia in 1778; appointed to command the forces in the South, June 13, 1780; his forces were cut to pieces on August 16, 1780, at Camden, South Carolina; and for his disgraceful flight into the interior of North Carolina Congress had an investigation, but the only outcome was the appointment of Greene to the command in the South. He then returned to his farm in Virginia where he lived until 1790, when he moved to New York City. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 614-15.

on her way with upwards of three tuns on board And move against the Current at the Rate of about four miles an hour by the force of Steam, without any External application Whatever. We are well Informed and & believe That the Mechinery is at present Very Imprefect and by no means Capeble of performing what it would Do if Compleated. We are perswaded that it may be broght Into Common Use, and be of great advantage to navegation, as the mechinery is Simple, Light, and Cheap, and Does not Ocupy a Space of more than four by two and ahalf—

Charl[s] Morrow [65]
Ro[t] Stubbs
Henry Bedinger
W. L. White
Abraham Shepherd [66]

To George Washington [67]

Shepherdstown March 24th 1788

D[r] General

With this you will Receive five pamphlets Respecting my Boat and other plans, the Subject is not handled Quite to my wish as I was Obliged to get a person to Correct my Coppys In Doing which my Ideas in Several places were new modled but not So much as to figure the Truths I wished to Introduce, But has made Sum things Rather Obscure.

I hope Sir, that the nessisaty there was of Such an Explanations being made to the public, will plead my Excuse for Taking the Liberty of Introducing your name into my Concerns, and Shall Do my best Endeavours to Conduct myself In Such a

[65] Colonel Charles Morrow was the brother of Rumsey's wife. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXIV, S. 1, 155.

[66] Abraham Shepherd was a lieutenant in Virginia, 1775; captain, 1776; captured at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776; exchanged, August 26, 1778; appointed captain again, but retired September 14, 1778, on account of sickness. Francis B. Heitman, *Officer of the Revolution*, 493.

[67] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

mannor as in Sum Degree to Deserve the Honor it Does me, you may Rest ashored that all that I have proposed is within my power to perform, I have proven them all Experimentilly, and have modles by Me Suficeantly Large to Convince any Compitant Judge (that may Exammon them) of the truth thereof—

Tomorow morning I throw myself upon the Wide World In persuit of my plans, being no longer Able to proceed Upon my Own foundation, I Shall bend my Course for philadelphia where I hope to have it in my power to Convince a Franklin [68] and a Rittenhouse [69] of their Utelity, by actual Experiments, as Mr Barnes [70] is to Set out in about ten Days after me with all the machinery in a waggon and halt at Baltimore untill I write him from philadelphia what Encouragement we may Expect there, if none we will push Immediately for South Carolina—

There is no period in life that Could give one more Satisfaction than to have it in my power to Stop the mouths of the Envious few (I might add Ignoreant) that has taken the Liberty To Cast Reflections on the Gentlemen that was kind anough To give me Certificates; one of this Discription would have got Roughly handled by the Gentlemen of this place if he had not made a Very timely Escape. I must Say that I am under great Obligations to the Gentlemen of this Country, on hearing my Intentions to travel, a number of them Vollintarily furnished me with Letters to Gentlemen of their acquantances in Different States, and ten of the Magestrates has given me a Recommendation that would Do Honor to a much Worthyer

[68] Benjamin Franklin had all his life been much interested in science and inventions.

[69] David Rittenhouse (April 8, 1732–June 26, 1796) was an instrument maker, astronomer, and mathematician of Philadelphia. He supplied his own needs; constructed his own instruments; and made discoveries. He was the actual surveyor of the Mason and Dixon Line. His orrery represents the motions of the heavenly bodies; illustrates the solar and lunar eclipses; and shows other phenomena for a period of 5,000 years forward and backward. *Dictionary of American Biography,* XV, 630-32.

[70] See note 26.

person, I mention this Sir because I Conceive I am Indebted to you for a great part of the zeal they have Shewn Upon this Occation, and Should be ungratefull If I Did not feel the weight of the great Obligations I am under To you—you shall hear from me if I meet with any Occurance that I Conceive is worthy of your Attention—I am Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem & Regard your much Obliged and Very Hb^{l} Serv^{t}

James Rumsey

P. S. Just as I was Sealing the Letter I Received a notice from the Director of the potomack Company that a motion would be made to Recover £26—Sterling of me already Called for—I have M^{r} Hortshorns Receip^{t} for five Dollars and the Boats the Valuation of which when passed to be applyed to pay two ten pound Devidends; for Winecoop One for me and the Ballance to my Credit with Hartshorn and C^{o} as I finished the Boats their valuation was then £57..12..0 Virginia money as I owed M^{r} hartshorn & C^{o} but £5. there is nearly as much Comeing to me as will Discharge the third & forth Dividends It is out of my power to pay the 5th Dividend In time must therefore abide by the Consequences, I have M^{r} Stuarts receipt for the Boats which M^{r} Hartshorn has Seen I Shall have a Statement of the hole forwarded to the Directors as Soon as possible I am &c J. Rumsey

His Excellenccy George Washington Esq^{r}
Mount Vernon

To George Washington [71]

philadelphia May 15th 1788

D^{r} General,

When I Last had the honor of writing to you I was about Seting out on a Very uncertain Expedition. I came to this place with an Intention of Astablishing my prior Rights to the

[71] Washington Papers, Library of Congress.

Invention of the Steam boat and have met with great Oppozetion from Mr Fitches Company [72] who Seem to Stop at nothing to Carry their point by advice of Several friends we attempted an Agatiation of the matter and I was met Several Times by Deputyes from his Company in The Course of which I offered to make an Equal Join of the matter with them which they Refused, & they offered me one Eighth which I Refused, when all negotiation Ceased

I Laid the Draft of Several Mechines before the philosophical Society [73] Expecting thereby to Secure Such Inventions to myself Among these Drafts, was my new Invented Boiler for Generateing Steam my papers was In possession of his Excellencey Doctor Franklin Several Days before the Day of meeting But on that Day three other Drafts was handed in of Boilers on the Same princeples of mine but Varyed a Little in form two of these was a Mr Voights [74] a partners of Mr Fitches,[75]

[72] The Fitch Company was backed by many of the leading men in Philadelphia. *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 425-6.

[73] The American Philosophical Society was an outgrowth of Franklin's Junto of 1727, and the American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge of 1766. It is now housed in Independence Square. Frankliniana now has a collection of 14,000 volumes and a library of 45,000 volumes. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* XVII, 706.

[74] Henry Voight was a watch-maker of Philadelphia and was of invaluable assistance to John Fitch in his inventions. *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 425-6.

[75] John Fitch (January 21, 1743–July 2, 1798) was a self-educated mechanical genius; went to sea and took great interest in machinery; fought in and made guns for the Revolution; settled in Kentucky; was captured by the Indians and turned over to the British; later settled in Bucks county, Pennsylvania, and became quite an explorer and trader in the Northwest Territory. Having failed in everything else he ever undertook, he in 1785 turned his entire attention to steamboat building, and for thirteen years until his death he devoted all his time to this great work. The Continental Congress refused to help him, but in 1786 New Jersey, and in 1787 Pennsylvania, New York, Delaware, and Virginia granted him the exclusive privilege of using their waters for steam navigation for a period of fourteen years. On August 22, 1787, he displayed his boat, operated by six propellers on a side, before the members of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. A controversy then arose between Fitch and Rumsey over who actually invented the steamboat. In 1788 Fitch built a still larger boat with a paddle-wheel, and established regular passenger service on the Delaware.

the other by a person of Influence a teacher in the Collage I found who it was by axedent, Inclosed you have the Report of a Committee of the philosophical Society on the above mentioned Mechenes, also the proposials of a plann I published to form a Company and the names of the persons That has Subscribed to it, when this was known M[r] Fitches party Immediately Sent a Draft of the boiler to Urope, with Letters and Instructions to apply for a pattent for it, the Gentlemen that formed my Company was Boared at Such Treatment and at the next meeting after the first formation of it, they Subscribed 1000 Dollars more for the Express purpose of Sending me to Urope and I am to Set of in the morning, Doctor Franklin and a number of other Gent[l] write Letters by me to their friends in Europe. If you think Sir that you Could with propriaty mention me in a Line the first opertunity to the Marquis La Fayette [76] M[r] Jefferson [77] or any other Gentlemen that you may think proper the favor Should always be most Greatfully Remembered. Benjaman Vaughn [78] Esq[r] Jeffreys Square and M[r] Robert Barkley Thraler Brewery Southwark Lands are to be two of my Confitential friends—& to turn Doct[r] Franklin is to name

In 1791 he received patents in the United States and in France for his invention, but a wreck of his boat that year in Philadelphia discouraged his company and they refused to advance him any more money. That year he went to France where he likewise failed; returned to America as a common sailor; remained in seclusion for two years near Boston; built a screw propelled boat in New York; and in 1796 returned to Kentucky. He in his life had built four successful steamboats, yet he failed. *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 425-6.

[76] The Marquis La Fayette of American Revolutionary fame was at this time very popular in France.

[77] Jefferson was at this time in France. He was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to France on May 7, 1784, and then Minister on March 10, 1785. He returned to the United States after the election of Washington, and was immediately made Secretary of State. *Biographical Directory of Congress*, 1148.

[78] Benjamin Vaughan (April 19, 1751–December 8, 1835) was a physician and writer. He spent much time in Europe, especially in England; was a go-between in the peace negotiations of 1782-3; removed to America in 1794; and remained in the United States until his death. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 266-7.

one or two more In his Letters which I have not got yet but am to Call on him in the Evening for them— [79]

I am Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem your much obliged hb[l] Serv[t]—James Rumsey

P. S. If M[r] hartshorne [80] would give me Credit for the Boats and Sum Other Small accounts that Lye with him It would nearly pay what was Called for by the Company before I Came from home—

His Excellency George Washington Esq[r]
Free

To George Washington [81]

Enclosed in; 1788, May 15, Rumsey to Washington

Proposals For Forming A Company, To Enable James Rumsey

To Carry into Execution, on a Large Scale Extensive Plan, His

Steam Boat

And sundry other Machines herein after mentioned.

Whereas James Rumsey, of Berkley county, in the state of Virginia, has been several years employed, with unremitted attention and at a great expence, in bringing to perfection the

[79] Rumsey, in the spring of 1788, went to England where he soon secured patents for his inventions, and his friends secured patents in America for him in 1791 for his boiler and engine. For more than four years he stayed abroad trying to perfect his second boat, but disheartening circumstances, mostly due to the lack of money, discomfitted him. His friends, even the Rumseian Society, deserted him. The *Columbia Maid* was about finished when he died in London in 1792. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 223.

[80] Fitzgerald and Hartshorne were men interested in the act for improving the navigation of the Potomac, and were appointed to receive subscriptions for copies of the act. Hartshorne later became treasurer of the Potomac Company. Fitzpatrick, *Diaries of Washington*, II, 336.

[81] Washington Papers, Library of Congress. This is a printed circular, and is filed in Washington's Papers under May 1, 1788.

following machines and engines, namely, one for propelling boats on the water, by power of steam, which has already been accomplished in experiments, on a boat of about six tons burthen; another machine constructed on similar principles, for raising water at a small expence, to be applied to the working mills of different kinds, as well as to various useful purposes in agriculture; and also others, by means of which, grist and saw-mills may be so improved in their construction, by a very cheap and simple mechanism, as to require the application of much less water than is necessary in the common mode: and whereas the expenditures that the said James Rumsey has necessarily incurred in the perfection of those important discoveries, and in endeavouring to bring the machines and engines which he has so invented to perfection, have rendered him incapable, without assistance, to carry his said plans fully into effect: Therefore, he, the said James Rumsey, hereby doth, by the advice of sundry gentlemen of reputation, propose to form a company on the following plan, to enable him to complete and carry into execution his aforesaid inventions; being anxious to evince the great utility, which he is confident, will refute to his country therefrom. For this purpose, he proposes.

1st. To reserve, subject to his own disposal, one moiety or half part of the interest, and property, in his said discoveries and machines.

2nd. That the other moity of the interest and property in the same, he divided into fifty equal shares, to be disposed of to such gentlemen as may choose to encourage so laudable and beneficial an undertaking.—The purchasers to pay at the time of subscribing, twenty Spanish milled dollars, for each share, into the hands of the said James Rumsey, or of the trustee hereafter to be appointed, who will be authorized by him to receive subscriptions.

3d. The said James Rumsey, hereby engages to convey to the said Trustees, for the use and benefit of the company, Lands, of considerable value, as a security for the faithful appropriation of the monies so to be subscribed; which monies shall be

applied to the immediate purposes of perfecting the before mentioned machines, and obtaining grants from the legislatures of the several states, vesting in the said James Rumsey, his executors, administrators and assigns, an exclusive right to, and interest in the said discoveries and machines, for a certain term of years.

4th. The said James Rumsey further engages, that, at the expiration of one year from the date thereof (at which time he expects to have his machines completed) he will convey to each subscriber, his executors, administrators, or assigns, the share or shares by them respectively subscribed for, on his or their paying the said James Rumsey the additional sum of forty Spanish milled dollars, on each share so subscribed, and that, should any subscriber, or his legal representative then wish to relinquish his share or shares, the money advanced by him for the same, shall be refunded to him. But should it so happen, that all or a great number of the subscribers, or their representatives should not be desirous of retaining their respective shares, and that the said James Rumsey should thereby, be disabled from refunding to them, out of the funds arising from the original subscriptions, the sum of twenty dollars advanced for each share; in that case he agrees that the lands, so as aforesaid to be conveyed in trust, shall be sold by the trustees aforesaid, for the express purpose of reimbursing the monies, advanced by those persons so declining to retain their shares; the surplus to be refunded to the said James Rumsey or his representatives.

5th. That those persons who may think proper to pay the additional sum of forty dollars for each share, and thereby be invested with a complete proprietorship in the concern, shall form themselves into a company, which shall hold their meetings at such times and places as may be by them agreed upon, for the purpose of promoting the interest of the proprietors, and for directing the mode, in which the business of the company shall, from time to time be conducted. That at all such meetings of the company, each proprietor shall be entitled to one vote for every share he shall possess, to the number of

five (inclusive) and one vote for every five additional shares. That the said James Rumsey, so long as he shall continue as proprietor of one moiety (equivalent to fifty shares) or of a lesser number, shall be entitled to a proportionable number of votes, with the other proprietors; and that every person who may purchase from the said James Rumsey a share or shares (each of which shall be one equal fiftieth part of his the said James Rumsey's proprietorship, hereby reserved) shall have the same right of voting as other proprietors.

That, so soon as twenty shares shall be subscribed for, the subscribers shall meet, in order to appoint trustees, for the purposes before specified; and that when the company shall be completely organized, every person entitled to give a vote in person, shall also, in case of absence, have a right to vote by proxy.

In Witness of the premises, We the Subscribers, have hereunto set our Names, this first day of May 1788.

His Excc^{y} Benj^{n} Franklin	One Share
General Arthur Sinclair	One ditto
Rev^{d} George Duffield	One ditto
William Bingham Esq^{r}	One ditto
Benjiman Wyncoop Esq^{r}	20 ditto
Rev^{d} Sam^{l} McGaw	One ditto
Myers Fisher Esq^{r}	One ditto
William Barton Esq^{r}	One ditto
M^{r} Levi Hollingsworth	two ditto
M^{r} John Wilson	One ditto
M^{r} John Jones	One ditto
M^{r} James Trenchard	four ditto
M^{r} Joseph James	two ditto
Mess^{rs} Reed & Ford	One ditto
M^{r} Sam^{l} Wheeler	two ditto
M^{r} Richard Adams	One ditto
Rev^{d} Burgiss Allison	One ditto
Mers Fisher (for Robert Barclay)	one share
Charles Vancouver	one share

To George Washington [82]

[Inclosed in 1788, May 15, Rumsey to Washington]

Philadelphia, 1788.

At a meeting of the American Philosophical Society, of the 18th. of April 1788, a letter was received from Mr. James Rumsey, of the State of Virginia, accompanied with a drawing and description of an improved boiler for a steam engine, as also drawings & descriptions of

1. An improvement in Dr. Barker's Grist-Mill.
2. An improvement in the Saw-Mill.
3. An improvement in raising water, by means of a Steam-engine.

Ordered, that Dr. Ewing, Mr. Rittenhouse, and Mr. Professor Patterson, be a committee to examine the several papers on the production and use of Steam, and to make report to the Society thereon.

May 2d 1788.

At a stated meeting of the Society;

A Report from the committee to whom were referred sundry papers, by the Society, at their last meeting, was produced and read. It is as followeth, viz.

"Your committee have examined the several papers to them referred by the Society; at their last meeting, except that offered for the annual premium; on which they do not think it proper to give their opinion, at present

The principle which Mr. Rumsey and Mr. Voight seem to have adopted, in the construction of their proposed boilers for Steam-Engines, viz. to increase the surface, and diminish the quantity of water exposed to the action of the fire, appears to our committee, in general to be just. But what may be the

[82] Washington Papers, Library of Congress. This is a printed circular.

best application of this principle, must, no doubt, in some measure be determined by actual experiments.

The improvements which Mr. Rumsey proposes in Dr. Barker's Grist-Mill; that in the Saw-Mill; and that in the raising of water, by means of a Steam-Engine, are certainly ingenious, in theory, and will deserve a full trial."

Signed by John Ewing,
David Rittenhouse,
Robert Patterson,

Extract from the minutes

Samuel Magraw one of the secretaries.

N. B. The plan of a boiler laid before the Philosophical Society, by Mr. Voight (Mr. Fitch's partner) alluded to in the foregoing certificate, so different from mine in form but in principle, and I have good reason to believe that he got his first idea from mine, which I shall endeavour to make appear—at any rate I shall incontestibly prove that I was near two years before him in that invention.

James Rumsey.

Philadelphia May 10th. 1788.

Paris March 20th 1789

Dear West,[83]

I have this day had a good ride upon by hobby, It was by the particurlar request of our American Embesseder that I took this ride, and glad I was of the opertunity, of mounting, haveing been So long out of practice, by being in a Country where the people Could not understand the Language in which I Explained, hobby gates, M^r^ Jefferson^s^ Hotel was the place appointed for me to Exercise, and I had not been long mounted before M^r^ Jefferson bore me Company and fine Sport we Should

[83] Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

have had, would time have permited; but dinner time Came on and Company arived that had been invited to dine, the horse was therefore obliged to be Stabled; however Mr Jefferson was so pleased with hobby that he then borrowed him of me, with the Explination of his gates.—I know Very Well that what I have Said will Convey to you a Very Clear idea of the Business of the day but I beg that you will not Explain it to any body (not nobody) in the Same way. To be Serious you Cannot Conceive how attentive Mr Jefferson has been to my buisness, he has been to the Hotels of a great number of the nobility to gain their interest in my favor, but the most of them unfortunately for me, in the Country at the Elections now.—Voteing, when they return I have no doubt but I Shall Succeed in the object of my Jurney, what is much in my favor is Mr Jefferson being the most popular Embasador at the french Court, they are Certainly fond of America in this Country, for American principles are bursting forth in Every quarter; it must give great pleasure to the feeling mind, to See millions of his fellow Creatures Emergeing from a State not much better than Slavery.[84] I have been but little out but from what I have Seen I think I may Venture to Say that this Country Exceeds England in all arts that tend to Magnifisence and grandure; but in the more usefull ones Such as Manufactureing &c I think they are far behind; you can form no adequate Idea of the Elligance of their Statuary, buildings, furniture &c perhaps after all I may have mistaken quantity for quality, and glitter of Elligance, for on recolecting Some of the Statues that is In Westminter Abby, my asertions Seems to be rather Extravagant, and favor a little the marvelous that you have learnt me to deal in with Such Ease, but do not take this for a recantation of what I have before Said, as it only meant to gain a little time that I may the better make up my mind upon the Subject—

[84] The influence of the American Revolution; the heavy debt piled up by the inefficient French Government; and the condition of the lower classes led to the French Revolution of 1789.

March 22[d] I have this day been Viewing the boats upon the Sceine they are wonderfull large indeed and Carry from 5 to 6 hundred tons, the average Cost of horse hire to bring them from Roane to Paris is *Seventy guineas* a trip which they perform in about 12 days, An Engine would bring them up for ten, Including all Expense, it is said that their is Several thousand Such boats in the kingdom. I think of this, and no longer blame me for being So fond of rideing hobby, I have Such a friendship for you, that nothing Short of observing how pleasantly your little horse Carries you, would prevent me from giveing you and invertation to mount along with me, and after a little practice, to go to the Emperor of germany or the king of Spain, to Soliset Exclusive rights, or rewards for the Use of hobby, this kind of Stile perhaps [ ] not Suit business of Importance; So Seriously, let me hear What you would think of Such Tour, the Countries I Speak of Exceed france for advantages, and I think their is no human Event, not yet Come to pass, that Can be Calculated upon with Such Certainty as the boat plan.

There is a M[r] barlow here,[85] the boston pa[ ] Suppose you have heard of him, he appears [ ] Steady Clever man, I have Some notion of [ ] to him to go to Some of the European States, I [ ] you would hear M[r] Trumbles [86]

[85] Joel Barlow (March 24, 1754–Dec. 24, 1812) was a soldier, chaplain, diplomat, and writer. He was interested in the Ohio Land Company; an agent for the Scioto Land Company of America in France in 1788; but having poor success he turned to politics and letters. For years he wrote in France and in England, which profession he kept up after his return to the United States. He made an unsuccessful race for a seat in the National Convention in France in 1793; accepted a position as consul for the United States to Algiers in 1795; made an excellent official of the United States at this north African city; and was an influential factor in bringing about peace in 1800 between France and the United States. After his return to the United States in 1805 he became a literary savant and refused all offices. However, in 1811, he became Minister to France and went to Poland to see Napoleon, where he died. *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, I, 166-7.

[86] John Trumbull (June 6, 1756–Nov. 10, 1843) was adjutant aid to Washington; draftsman for him; resigned in 1777; was aid to Sullivan in

opinion of him, and let me know it.—If the boiler is not Cast before this Comes to hand give directions that their be left two Inches between the bottom of the box that holds the fire and the bottom of the boiler [although I] dircted to leave but one I have been thinking also that the Screws on the Sides of the fire place might hold it to the out Side, without haveing any at the top or bottom, Consult the founder about it.—I am your friend & hb^{l} Serv^{t}.

James Rumsey

P. S. When I wrote this I intended to have Sent it (with Several others that I have written to you) by a private hand, as such an opportunity has not appeared I now Send this forward and Shall keep the others, which relate to my jurney for another conveyance. I beg you will keep this letter by you as it will remind me of Something I have not yet recorded. this is monday morning, last Evening I Was at the play! where I heard Saw music danceing &^{c} but understood not a word
A monsieur

Monsieur West, N° 2
North Street Charlotte
per post Street london

1778; and in 1780 went to France and then to England where he was imprisoned as a traitor. However, he was released after eight months' confinement on condition that he depart the country immediately. In 1785, he returned to England; studied art under West; traveled in France and other parts of Europe; made England his headquarters most of the time; painted pictures of many noted people, including Jefferson while he was in Paris, General Washington, Martha Washington, and George Clinton; and in 1790 returned to the United States. He was secretary to Jay in the negotiations with England 1794-5; one of the commissioners to execute this treaty; returned to his work in America in 1804, and was one of the leaders in the field of art in the United States. Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 168-9.

GOVERNOR HORATIO SHARPE AND HIS MARYLAND GOVERNMENT.

PAUL H. GIDDENS.
Allegheny College.

Early on Friday morning, August 10, 1753, the ship *Molly,* after a long journey from England, anchored in the quiet Severn River close to Annapolis. At nine o'clock the newly-appointed Governor of Maryland, Horatio Sharpe, landed at the dock where he was greeted by Benjamin Tasker, President of the Council, a few of the Councillors, and a number of other gentlemen. They walked leisurely through Green Street to Tasker's home and tarried there until after dinner. About four in the afternoon, accompanied by President Tasker, Secretary Edmund Jennings, George Plater, Charles Hammond, Benjamin Tasker, Jr., and Benedict Calvert, all members of the Council, Sharpe went to the Council Chamber where he produced his commission which was opened and read.[1] The oaths of abjuration, test, allegiance, as well as the oath of the Chancellor and one to enforce the Acts of Trade and Navigation, were then administered to the new chief executive. After a brief message, in which Sharpe expressed Lord Baltimore's approval of the Council's past conduct, a formal proclamation was issued announcing the appointment of Horatio Sharpe as "Lieutenant General and Chief Governor of the Province of Maryland and Avalon in America."[2] Thus began an adminis-

[1] *Maryland Gazette,* August 16, 1753.

[2] *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland* August 10, 1753-March 20, 1761, (Archives of Maryland), editor, William Hand Browne, Baltimore, 1911, Vol. XXXI, pp. 3-8. Hereinafter referred to as *Council Pro.*; Daniel Dulany, the elder, wrote to the Hanbury's on September 4, 1753: "Our Gov'r arriv'd the tenth of last month & is very well liked by those who have seen him which gives me hope his government will be agreeable as he really seems to be a good-natured man, of a frank, open temper and free from affectation, and far from being greedy." St. G. L. Sissousat, *Economics and Politics in Maryland, 1720-1750,* and *the Public Services of Daniel Dulany the Elder* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science), Vol. XXI, Baltimore, 1903, p. 83.

tration destined to last for almost sixteen years, the longest period, with one exception, that any governor ever served Maryland under proprietary rule. These were momentous years, for they witnessed the expansion of the British Empire in America and also the beginnings of its disruption. Could Sharpe have pulled back the veil and peered into the future, one wonders whether or not he would have ever left his native land for turbulent Maryland.

Little is known about the life of Horatio Sharpe prior to his departure from England for America. Born in Yorkshire near Hull, he was thirty-five years old at the time of his arrival in Maryland.[3] He never married, yet it is said that after a few years residence in the province he did become a suitor for the hand of the fair Mary Ogle only to loose her to his young and handsome private secretary.[4] Sharpe once held a captain's commission in Brigadier-General Powlett's regiment of marines and apparently had seen some military service in the West Indies. His talented brothers had already gained distinction in religious, literary, and political circles.[5] The eldest brother was Dr. Gregory Sharpe, a classical scholar, a prebendary in Salisbury Cathedral, a chaplain to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and later to George III, and Master of the Temple. William served as clerk to His Majesty-in-Council. Philip's past remains a secret. Joshua and John were both colonial agents and treasury solicitors, the latter being at one time agent for Jamaica, Barbados, and Nevis. Moreover, John was a member of Parliament for Collington and, upon the death of the fifth Lord Baltimore, became one of the guardians of his son, Frederick. In all probability John Sharpe secured the appointment of his brother to the governorship of Maryland. Incidentally, the political in-

[3] Lady Matilda Edgar, *A Colonial Governor in Maryland,* London, 1911, p. 2.

[4] *Ibid.,* p. 194.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 2; W. P. Courtney, "Gregory Sharpe," *Dictionary of National Biography,* Sidney Lee, editor, New York, 1897, Vol. LI, pp. 423-424; Horatio Sharpe, *Correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe* (Archives of Maryland), William Hand Browne, editor, Baltimore, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 5 and 13 of the Preface. Hereinafter referred to as *Sharp Cor.*

fluence of all the Sharpe brothers proved to be a most valuable asset for the new Maryland governor. It enabled him to secure important military commands later, to thwart various designs of Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert, to convince them of the practicability or impracticability of certain policies, to secure or else prevent the appointment of particular persons to office, and to maintain his standing with the Proprietor and the King. Fraternal advice and counsel Horatio Sharpe often sought. Aside from these facts, little more can be written about the Sharpe family and the early life of the man who guided Maryland through sixteen troublesome years.

Two years prior to Sharpe's appointment, Frederick, the sixth Lord Baltimore, fell heir to Maryland upon the death of his father. He was twenty years old and became the most conceited, weakest, and worst scion of the Calvert family.[6] Carlyle in his *Life of Frederick the Great* refers to his father as "something of a fool, to judge by the face of him in portraits, and by some of his doings in the world."[7] His attempts at writing made him the laughing stock of England. Of his *Tour in the East in the years 1763 and 1764, with remarks on the City of Constantinople and the Turks: Also Select Pieces of Oriental Wit, Poetry and Wisdom,* Lord Orford declared that it "no more deserved to be published than his bills on the road for post-horses."[8] Furthermore, he had the reputation of being a libertine and a rake. Though married to Diana Egerton, daughter of the Duke of Bridgewater, Lord Baltimore stood trial in 1768 for rape. Despite acquittal, people at home and in the colony had little respect for him. While exceedingly anxious to have rents and revenues collected and remitted punctually, he avoided oppressing his Maryland tenants. Apart from the financial interest and the many opportunities to provide his

[6] George Sydeny Fisher, *Men, Women & Manners in Colonial Times,* Philadelphia, 1898, p. 240; Newton D. Mereness, *Maryland as a Proprietary Colony,* New York, 1901, pp. 156-157; William Hand Browne, *Maryland,* Boston, 1895, p. 217.

[7] T. F. Henderson, "Frederick Calvert," *Dictionary of National Biography* Leslie Stephen, editor, London, 1886, Vol. VIII, p. 268.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

favorites with lucrative appointments, Lord Baltimore had little interest in Maryland. He did not even visit his province though an extensive traveler on the Continent. Affairs of government were left largely to the care of a secretary, who, until 1766, was his crafty and scheming old uncle, Cecilius Calvert, and after that, Hugh Hamersley.[9] Under the circumstances Secretary Calvert became more important in determining colonial affairs than either Lord Baltimore or Governor Sharpe. Unfortunately it placed the Governor in a very exasperating position with respect to the determination of policies, appointments, and other proprietary business. After Calvert had been succeeded by Hamersley, there was not nearly so much friction between the Secretary and Governor.

Lord Baltimore held Maryland with almost unrestricted privileges according to the charter.[10] In recognition of the King's right in the soil, two Indian arrows had to be delivered every year at Windsor and one-fifth of all gold and silver ore was reserved for the King. Otherwise, the Proprietor had absolute authority to assign, grant, or alienate any part of the land. In addition to an exclusive right to the soil, extensive governmental powers, autocratic in character, had been granted. Lord Baltimore was the principal source of all military, executive, and judicial authority with the sole right of creating offices, appointing officers, supervising their performance, and delegating powers. Power was transmitted from above downward and all officers of government were made dependent upon the will of the Proprietor, for they served during his pleasure. The Governor was required to transmit regularly the journals of the Assembly as well as accounts of other important transactions. On critical occasions or at the time of some great controversy the Proprietor might communicate with either one or both houses of the legislature and make known his will. Of far greater importance was his right to disallow any act passed by the Maryland Assembly. As head of the church, the Proprietor controlled the patronage and no one could be appointed to a

[9] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 158-159. See also the charter of Maryland, pp. 507-520.

living without his approval. The Crown retained the right of control in war, trade, and commerce, but agreed to refrain forever from taxing the person or property of any inhabitant. In brief, the Proprietor originally possessed all the rights, privileges, prerogatives, liberties, and immunities as enjoyed by any Bishop of Durham. The charter aimed to create a strong and highly centralized state. By virtue of his royal rights the Proprietor sat as a petty monarch, the supreme head of the province. It must be remembered, however, that after the creation of a freeman's assembly, great inroads had been made upon the Proprietor's prerogatives. Gradually the Lower House had wrested numerous valuable liberties from the absentee landlords and by mid-eighteenth century it was claiming for itself all the rights and privileges of the ancient House of Commons.

When present in the colony the Proprietor exercised authority in person, but when absent he was represented by a Governor. To his representative, Governor Horatio Sharpe, Lord Baltimore delegated in 1753, most of his monarchial powers.[11] As chief magistrate, Sharpe had authority to make appointments to office, establish ports, markets, and fairs, to pardon offenders of the law, and to remit fines. In his legislative capacity, he could summon, dissolve, adjourn, or prorogue the Assembly and recommend laws, assent to, or veto any act passed. Sharpe kept the proprietary seal, approved all grants of land, issued commissions for all officers, licenses, writs, and proclamations. He was empowered to do whatever was necessary for the defence of Maryland and to suppress any rebellions. Because the general powers of a Governor could either be expanded or contracted by means of proprietary instructions, it is difficult to state more fully just what powers the chief executive possessed at any given moment.

From time to time special instructions, as occasion required, were sent to Governor Sharpe, but for his general guidance the Proprietor provided certain standing instructions. He should

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 159-161, 228.

act in strict conformity with the charter at all times and abide by the instructions to all previous Governors unless altered by later directions. While the Proprietor had the right to appoint civil officers and ministers, the Governor could fill a vacancy subject to Lord Baltimore's subsequent approval. In matters of legislation, the standing instructions directed the governor to pass no bill prejudicial to the Proprietor's prerogative or the property of subjects and tenants without first having Lord Baltimore's approval, to approve no act introducing the English statutes in gross which interferred with the law of 1702 providing for the clergy or dividing a parish without the incumbent's consent, to assent to no private law without first a hearing for the person concerned, and to pass no act relating to paper currency without a suspending clause. Furthermore, legislative bills should deal with only one subject; riders should not be attached. Finally, accounts of all important transactions should be sent regularly to both Lord Baltimore and Secretary Calvert.[12]

For his services as Governor, Sharpe received a salary and certain fees. Under a law of 1704 a duty of 12d. per hogshead on all tobacco exported went to the Governor.[13] By 1756 the duty amounted to £1,400 currency *per annum*. Some fees accrued to Sharpe from the Chancellor's office. In addition, he received £246 currency in 1754 for serving as His Majesty's Surveyor General of Customs.[14] To pay house rent the Assembly annually appropriated £80 currency. Whatever Sharpe's total income may have been, it was so large that Lord Baltimore did not hesitate to ask him to pay over £200 yearly towards the salary of Secretary Calvert.[15]

In all matters pertaining to government a small group of constitutional advisers, called the Council, assisted Sharpe.[16] A full council had twelve members, but the usual number was nine or ten. Councillors were seldom, if ever, removed and vacancies only occurred through death or resignation. The

[12] *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 27.
[13] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-173; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 27.
[14] *Port-folio*, No. 3-30, Maryland Historical Society.
[15] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 174. [16] *Ibid.*, pp. 174-179.

Proprietor upon the recommendation of the Governor appointed the members. Whenever the membership fell to six or below Sharpe had permission to appoint enough to keep the number up to seven, but even these must ultimately be approved by the Proprietor, to promote the peace and welfare of the people, to assist in the administration of justice, and to keep secret all affairs of state.

Sharpe was expected to advise with the Council upon all important state matters and seldom to act contrary to the advice given. Ordinarily business was confined to Indian affairs, to the boundary dispute with the Penns, to giving advice with respect to calling, proroguing, or dissolving the Assembly, to hearing petitions, to granting pardons, and issuing death warrants. The marked decrease of business during the eighteenth century and a corresponding increase of business in the Assembly indicated the transition from a monarchial to a more democratic government.

Councillors received no direct allowance from the Assembly after 1747 because of a feeling that they should be paid out of the appropriation to the Proprietor for maintaining the government.[17] But there were, however, sources of compensation. When the Councillors sat as the Upper House of the Assembly they drew a salary *per diem*. In addition, each Councillor enjoyed the profits from at least one lucrative governmental office. For example, in 1754 Samuel Chamberlaine received for serving in the Upper House £26.6.6 and £240.14.6 from his naval office.[18] Besides being a member of the Upper House, Colonel Edward Lloyd enjoyed large profits from his positions as Agent and Receiver General and Treasurer of the Eastern Shore. The average income of each Councillor in 1754 amounted to nearly £372 currency.[19] Some salaries were so large that the Proprietor asked four of them to contribute £400 annually towards the support of Secretary Calvert.[20]

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 181. [18] *Port-folio*, No. 3-30. Maryland Historical Society.
[19] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
[20] *The Calvert Papers* (Fund Publication, Vol. XXXIV), Md. Hist. Soc., Baltimore, 1894, Vol. XXXIV, p. 120.

Benjamin Tasker, Sr., Benjamin Tasker, Jr., Daniel Dulany, the elder, George Plater, Edmund Jennings, Charles Hammond, Edward Lloyd, Richard Lee, Samuel Chamberlaine, Philip Thomas, Benjamin Young, and Benedict Calvert formed the council in 1753.[21] Some of the members were men of mediocre, if not poor, ability. "If you knew," declared Governor Sharpe in 1755, "how unaccustomed or how averse the present members (except perhaps Mr. Thomas) were to writing or communicating their thought to the lower house by Message on any Occasion, you would, I am persuaded, think with me that it is highly requisite the vacancies in his Ldp's Council should be supplied with Gentn of Abilities who have been used to argue or write, and would be capable of supporting his Ldp's Rights & Prerogatives whenever a Levelling House of Burgesses should be inclined to attack them. You know, Sir, that few People will choose to engage in a Dispute with those whose superiour Capacity they are sensible of." [22] Sharpe did not know why his predecessors had recommended several members of the Council to Lord Baltimore's attention, but he imagined it could not be on "Account of their extraordinary Abilities for scarcely any of them except Mr. Thomas whose Understanding & Capacity were never questioned have ever taken upon themselves to pen a common Message yet all of them except Mr. Thomas enjoy Lucrative Offices, & as it pleased the Ld Proprietary to destinguish them by peculiar marks of Favour I shall only say that if they are now found deficient either in Point of Understanding or Affection to the Ld Proprietary I hope their Failure or Defects will not be attributed to me who had no hand in their Promotion." [23]

Secretary Calvert did not consider Lord Baltimore's right of nominating to the Council as a "feather wherewith to Tickle the vanity of such as he may be inclined to please, but as the chief strength & support not only of his Lordships rights, but of the whole frame of Government; 'tis by their advice Assem-

[21] *Council Pro.*, August 10, 1753, Vol. XXXI, p. 8.
[22] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 181. [23] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 426.

blys are called, prorogued & dissolved, & all the Subordinate parts of the Government are directed & put into Motion; It must therefore be of the last consequence to his Lord how the Vacancies that happen there, are filled up; If this point is disregard, you may admit a fool who will not only be troublesome & Impertinent but will Blabb every thing he knows; or if he has abilities, unless you are sure he is well affected to the Proprietor & Government, he will be the more Dangerous in proportion to those Abilities; for I am very well satisfied that placing such a one there is so far from putting him out of the way, as is the pretended opinion of some there, that it is increasing his Power of doing Mischief, by letting him into all the secrets of the Government, & giving him a share of Managemt in that Power which is to controul & direct all the rest & so far corrupting and weakening the only check this Government has over the Madness of popular fury. . . ." [24] Hence, Calvert advised that health, ability, nearness to Annapolis, family connections, and proper attachment to the Proprietor's rights should be considered in selecting persons for the Council. Men of the "Old Stamp of Politicks" should not be recommended by Sharpe.

Since he has been specifically instructed to appoint only men of "Good Life and well Affected to our Church and State," of "Good Estates and Abilities," and "not necessitous Persons or much in debt," Sharpe managed to bring into the Council men of greater talent.[25] William and Charles Goldsborough, R. J. Henry, Stephen Bordley, John Beale Bordley, Henry Hooper, Walter Dulany, Daniel Dulany, the younger, and John Ridout were among those who received promotions to that body during his administration. But these promotions were not made without difficulties. Repeated solicitations on behalf of talented men would frequently meet with failure. Sometimes the Governor had to utter a vigorous protest against the appointment of certain individuals whose merits were invisible, but who had influential connections in England. Occasionally the aspira-

[24] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 376.

[25] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-181.

tions of distant kinsmen of the Proprietor within the colony had to be thwarted. To recommend an individual for the Council without making enemies among the numerous applicants was also a delicate task and required tact. Sharpe wrote to Calvert in 1755 that he began "to see that the Art of disposing of Places so as to avoid offences is one of the most difficult parts of Gov & tis not without great Concern that I see yourself rendered uneasy by many & contrary Sollicitations." [26]

Besides the Governor and the Council, there were a number of other great officers of state residing within the province. Except for the Secretary, who was appointed by Secretary Calvert, the Commissary General, judges of the Land Office, and the Attorney General obtained their posts from the Proprietor upon the recommendation of the Governor. For the privilege of holding office, the Secretary had to pay Calvert £50 to £200 per year, the Commissary General £100, and the judges of the Land Office £50 each.[27] The policy of selling offices, by the way, did not escape criticism and attacks. In 1769 the Lower House in a resolution declared, "The sale of offices, now open and avowed, obliges the purchaser, by every way and means in his power, to enhance his fees; this is contrary to law and leads directly to oppression." [28]

Members of the Council always held the great offices of state and received compensation in the form of fees. In 1761 the Secretary received about £300 currency, the Commissary General £250, the Attorney General £50, and the two judges of the Land Office £300 each.[29] In practice, these officers had considerable patronage at their disposal. The Secretary named the fourteen county clerks who paid him one-fourth of their income. The Commissary General appointed one deputy for

[26] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. I, p. 182.

[27] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Concerning the amounts paid Calvert by the various officers, Sharpe wrote in 1757, "we already pay to Mr. Calvert as much as the places can bear & really if His Ldp will increase the Burthen some or other will be obstinate & endeavour by Violence to throw it entirely off." *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 48.

[28] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

[29] *Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties 1697-1776*, Vol. XXI, Part. I.

every county and the judges of the Land Office chose the register. Whoever occupied these offices would naturally have considerable political support in the different counties.

Among the more important smaller administrative officers were: the naval officers, the sheriffs, the deputy commissaries, the county clerks, two treasurers, the surveyor generals, and deputy surveyors.[30] In theory, the Governor filled these subordinate positions. Naval officers received in 1761 a remuneration of £50 to £100 each, sheriffs £80 to £150, deputy commissaries £10 to £20, and county clerks £80 to £200.[31] Salaries of the clerks of the Upper and Lower houses, the Provincial Court, Land Office, and Paper Currency Office varied from £50 to £130.

An Upper and Lower House formed the legislative branch of the government. The Council acted not only in an advisory capacity but also formed the Upper House and no law could be enacted or repealed without its consent.[32] Naturally it was a small group and required little organization. A President served as the presiding officer and the clerk of the Council acted as clerk of the Upper House. Business did not warrant the use of standing committees. Dependent upon the Proprietor for the positions they enjoyed, members of the upper house were expected to support staunchly his rights and interests in all legislative matters. Furthermore, they represented the great landowners and the wealth of the province. Like all other second houses, the upper chamber acted as a check upon the democratic schemes of the lower chamber. For their services members of the Upper House received 150 pounds of tobacco *per diem* plus itinerant charges, while their colleagues of the Lower House drew ten pounds less *per diem.*

More popular in character and representative of the small planters, merchants, traders, and artisans was the Lower House. In spite of size and population, every county, the unit of representation, had four delegates and the city of Annapolis two, a

[30] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 153-154.
[31] *Board of Trade Papers, Proprieties 1697-1776,* Vol. XXI, Part I.
[32] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 198, 219.

total of fifty-eight. Population in the counties varied in 1775 from 5,715 persons in Calvert to 17,238 in Baltimore county.[33] The most heavily populated counties, Baltimore, Anne Arundel, Prince George, Charles, and Frederick, located on the Western Shore, had no more representation in the Lower House than Cecil, Somerset, or Kent, Eastern Shore counties with the smallest population. The total population of the Western Shore exceeded that of the East by 19,379 individuals. It is important to note then, that the Western Shore counties were by no means as well represented in the Assembly as those of the East Shore. No attempt, however, was made between 1753 and the American Revolution to reapportion representatives upon a more equitable basis. It was not prudent for the Proprietor to create new counties because every division simply increased the number of delegates opposed to proprietary rule.

Voting for members of the Lower House, except in Annapolis, was restricted to persons with a freehold of at least fifty acres or a visible estate of £50 sterling.[34] Anyone in the colonial capital could vote for the two city delegates provided he owned a house and lot within Annapolis, or has a visible estate worth twenty pounds sterling or had served five years in any trade within the city and then became an inhabitant. Roman Catholics could neither vote nor hold office without first taking the various prescribed oaths.

About once every three years, according to custom, the Assembly would be dissolved and new elections held. The Governor would direct a writ to the sheriff who immediately

[33] *The Gentleman's Mazazine*, Vol. XXXIV (1764), p. 261.

Population of the various counties in 1755:

Eastern Shore		*Western Shore*	
Worcester	10,125	Baltimore	17,238
Somerset	8,682	Anne Arundel	13,056
Dorset	11,753	Prince George	12,616
Talbot	8,533	Calvert	5,715
Queen Anne	11,240	Charles	13,056
Kent	9,443	St. Mary	11,254
Cecil	7,731	Frederick	13,969

[34] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-201.

called a session of the county court to proclaim the approaching election.[35] Qualifications for membership in the Lower House were the same as those for regular voters, except that sheriffs and innkeepers were excluded and residence within the county was coupled with the possession of personal property. People took a great interest in elections and there was liquor in abundance about the polls. Discussion on the stump was sometimes hot and acrimonious. Keen party spirit existed. Voters assembled on the appointed days at the court house where clerks recorded the votes given *viva voca.* Failure to appear at the polls cost a voter one hundred pounds of tobacco. Returns from the elections stated the time and place, the names of persons chosen, and the signature of each voter. The Lower House acted as sole judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of members. Concerning the character of those usually elected, Eddis wrote, "The delegates returned are generally persons of the greatest consequence in their different counties; and many of them are perfectly acquainted with the political and commercial interests of their constituents." [36]

Organization and procedure in the Lower House followed closely that of the ancient House of Commons.[37] In a newly-elected Assembly, the members first subscribed to the various oaths and then selected a Speaker, who must be approved by the Governor, a clerk, a sergeant-at-arms, and a doorkeeper. With much more business to consider than the Upper House standing committees became necessary. At the opening of every new house a committee to audit accounts, a committee on laws, a committee on privileges and elections, a committee on grievances, a committee on courts, and a committee to inspect the condition of arms and ammunition were generally appointed. After adopting rules of order and standing resolutions, the house was ready to transact business. Every bill before becoming a

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 208-213; Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Maryland From the Earliest Period to the Present Day,* Baltimore, 1879, Vol. II, p. 97.

[36] William Eddis, *Letters from America, Historical and Descriptive; Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777, inclusive,* London, 1792, p. 126.

[37] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.

law must receive its approval and, following English precedent, it insisted on money bills originating in that house.

To administer justice Maryland possessed a hierarchy of courts. The Governor and Council sat as a Court of Appeals, the highest tribunal. Only cases where the value in dispute exceeded £50 sterling or 10,000 pounds of tobacco came to this court.[38] Appeals might be carried from this court to the King provided the value in dispute exceeded £300 sterling.[39] The Court of Appeals did not fill any considerable place in the popular mind though the most powerful court of the province.[40]

The Provincial Court was the great court of Maryland. It had original jurisdiction where the debt or damage amounted to at least £100 sterling or 5,000 pounds of tobacco and appellate jurisdiction in cases where the judgment of the county court exceeded 1,200 pounds of tobacco or £6 sterling.[41] Generally, any appeal beyond the Provincial Court was out of the ordinary. Nine justices composed the court and were appointed by the Governor who designated four or five of them of the quorum.[42] To hold a session, at least one of the quorum and one other justice had to be present. Each justice received 140 pounds of tobacco *per diem* plus itinerant expenses. Four of the justices, two for each shore, held circuit court in every county and for these services received 7,000 pounds of tobacco for each circuit. Pay was small and as a result the supreme court was one of the weakest parts of the government.

Serving upon the Provincial Court bench at the time of Sharpe's arrival were: George Dent, John Brice, John Darnall, John Hepburn, R. J. Henry, Richard Tilghman, George Steuart, William Goldsborough, and John Hall.[43] Sharpe had not been long in Maryland before Secretary Calvert was complaining of the "Egregious Weakness, as well as the Extrava-

[38] *Ibid.*, pp. 229, 234, 238, 245; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 28.

[39] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[40] Carrol T. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland, A History*, Baltimore, 1928, p. 53.

[41] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 239-240, 245; *Council Pro.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 28.

[42] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-247, 253.

[43] *Maryland Gazette*, March 14, 1754.

gant Byass" of the Provincial Court justices.[44] Most of them had been appointed before Sharpe came to Maryland and since no complaint had been made to him regarding their behaviour on the bench, the Governor hesitated to make any removals. He admitted, however, that the justices were "not such as would make a Figure in Westminister Hall" nor were they men "remarkably deficient in Point of Abilities or Understanding, nor do I believe they are disaffected to the Ld Proprietary or his Government.[45] So difficult was it to get men of good capacity that three of the justices, Brice, Tilghman, and Darnall, were even county clerks. Sharpe doubted the propriety of county clerks being Provincial Court justices, but he later concluded that they were treated with no less respect on account of it.[46] "Upon the whole," Sharpe wrote to Calvert, "I cannot say that I think our Provincial Justices equal to their Office, but at the same time I know not how the Evil is to be remedied, if such Men are not to be got as one could wish we must be contented with such as we can get & it would become the Lawyers instead of holding them cheap to make Allowance for their Want of a Regular Education & unless the Judges Conduct on other Occasions affords Room to think that they are partial or ill disposed Charity would incline one to attribute any Errors or Mistakes they made rather to their having misunderstood the Arguments urged on either side than to Wilfulness or Design; & after all if one may judge from the Number of Appeals that are made from that Court very few people are dissatisfied with their Determinations."[47] In another letter he said, "I am persuaded no accusations can be brought against our Judges that Those in other Colonies are not equally liable to."[48] Insufficient salary made it extremely difficult to get men of excellent legal ability to accept a place on the bench. Only 14 sh. a day while attending court were allowed the justices. Any able lawyer could amass a fortune through private practice and unless the colony paid a salary of at least £400 to £500

[44] *Sharpe Cor.*, Vol. II, p. 381.
[45] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 431.
[46] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 68, Vol. II, p. 432.
[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 433.
[48] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

sterling a year, Sharpe did not see how any one of note could be induced to become a justice of the Provincial Court.[49]

Secretary Calvert felt, however, that the situation might be improved if the number of justices could be reduced from nine to five. It would be easier to select five "who may be all Men of understanding & more free from Taint of popularity & other prejudices than a Large number. . . ." [50] He recommended the reduction to Sharpe and warned him, in picking the new justices, "to keep clear from persons, that are of Impenetrable Ignorance, & the silly affectation of popularity & unaccountable prejudice against his Lordships Rights, which have for some years past been too dominant there. . . ." [51] To induce well qualified persons to become judges Calvert also suggested, as an additional attraction, their succession from the bench to the Council. Until their arrival there, every possible regard should be granted them or their relatives. No reduction, however, was made. When vacancies occurred Sharpe always appointed the best available men. In 1776 he selected five new justices: Colonel Henry Hooper, James Weems, John Leeds, John Beale Bordley, and Major Jenifer. "They are All in my opinion," declared Sharpe, "Gent of Integrity & well attached to your Ldps Government & as well qualified as any I know to administer Justice unless some Gentlemen of the Law could be prevailed on to relinquish their Practice & sit on the Bench which can never be expected while the Allowance made the Provincial Justices for their Attendance is little more than sufficient to defray their Expences." [52]

County courts were the most popular courts. They met in March, June, August, and November. Some member of the Council always served as chief justice. In addition, there might be as high as twenty-eight justices; four or five were of the quorum.[53] At least one of the quorum and two other justices had to be present at every session. The Governor named the justices usually once a year and sometimes oftener. County

[49] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 432.
[50] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 381.
[51] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 385.
[52] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 334.
[53] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

justices depended entirely upon fees as compensation for their services. The jurisdiction of the county court extended to all criminal cases not involving life or death, except negroes, and in civil cases to all where the value in dispute did not exceed 30,000 pounds of tobacco or £150.[54] Any debt amounting to less than 600 pounds of tobacco or 50 sh. currency could be recovered before a single justice.[55]

When court opened the sheriff impanelled a grand jury to make inquests and return indictments. Either criminal or civil cases might be tried with or without a jury. Should the litigants agree to use a jury the expense became a part of the costs of the suit.[56] Where it was not mutually desired the party demanding a jury had to pay the cost, except in criminal cases. The pillory, stocks, whipping posts, gallows, and the burning iron were actively employed to punish criminals.[57]

There was also a chancery, admiralty, and probate courts with special functions to perform.

In local government the most important administrative unit was the county. It served as the unit of representation in the central government as well as the principal civil division for carrying into execution the will of that government. By counties taxes were apportioned and the militia organized and trained. County justices advised the sheriff on what days elections should be held; they sat with him during the election; they cared for the poor; they divided the county into hundred, highway precincts, and parishes; they provided the county with a standard of weights and measures; they bound out orphan children; and they appointed constables and overseers for the highway precinct.[58] During Sharpe's administration there were fourteen counties evenly divided between the Eastern and Western Shores. No new counties were created between 1754 and 1769.

Every county was divided into hundreds, but as the county had increased in importance, the hundred had declined in use-

[54] *Ibid.*, p. 238. [55] *Ibid.*, p. 241. [56] *Ibid.*, p. 246.

[57] Scharf, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 41; Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 254-255.

[58] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-405; Lewis W. Wilhelm, *Maryland Local Institutions* (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science), Vol. III, Baltimore, 1885, pp. 64-96.

fulness. The constable, however, still performed valuable services: he prepared the lists of taxables, attended all sessions of the county court, executed all warrants issued by the justices, and raised the hue and cry.[59]

Maryland was almost townless. Although every effort had been made to promote the growth of towns they had failed to develop. There was little need, therefore, for any town government and wherever found it was simple in form: a group of commissioners with power to appoint other officers, hold court, and constitute markets and fairs. Annapolis was the only city. There, the mayor, recorder, six aldermen, and ten common councilmen formed a corporate body. Chosen from among the aldermen, the mayor served for one year. The recorder was always a lawyer, the aldermen were always selected from among the common councilmen, and the latter were chosen by the freemen of the city. A court of hustings composed of the mayor, recorder, or any three had jurisdiction over all actions, personal or mixed, in which the value did not exceed £6.10 or 1,700 pounds of tobacco. The sheriff of Annapolis executed the laws and ordinances made by the corporation.[60]

Presiding over these civil institutions became the arduous task of Governor Sharpe, and, on that hot afternoon in August, 1753, he swore to administer faithfully this highly centralized system of government, to do equal right to the poor and rich alike, and not for fear, favor, or affection, hinder or delay justice. Sharpe became at once the center from which proceeded the executive, military, administrative, and judicial authority and, in a large measure, the legislative activity. Autocratic powers had been entrusted to his care and through the power of appointment the influence of a non-resident, pleasure-seeking, profligate proprietor could be made effectually felt in every remote corner of the province. "This influence," declared Eddis, "is considered by many, as inimical to the essential interests of the people; a spirit of party is consequently excited; and every idea of encroachment is resisted, by the popular

[59] Mereness, *op. cit.*, p. 406; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-63.

[60] Mereness, *op. cit.*, pp. 420-421; Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-129.

faction, with all the warmth of patriotic enthusiasm." [61] The proprietary officers had such ascendancy over the minds of the people as to have their friends elected into any and every public office. "The influence of office with the power of wealth," wrote Charles Willson Peale, "carried like a rapid stream all that fell within its Vortex." [62] Arrayed against this monarchial form of government was the lower house of the assembly, the champion of popular control. Stubbornly and persistently it fought during these sixteen years to free Maryland from proprietary rule and external control.

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 1, page 46.)

Sir

I shall ship you in the snow Experiment now Laying in Severn River in Maryland Robert Bryce Captain Ten Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron. As I make no Doubt of its Clearing me at your Port six pounds ℔ Ton Desire you will make Insurance on the said Vessell there and thence to port of Liverpool and there untill unlivered against all Dangers Barratry of Master or mariners &c. That in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions the sum of Sixty Pounds at the Easiest Premium. And the Charges of such Insurance Place to my Account

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Nov^{r} 7th 1757

To James Gildart Esq^{r} merchant in Liverpool

It is not by Galloways ship.

℔ Cap^{t} Chilton one of M^{r} Lounds Ships November the 22^{d} for Liverpool

℔ Cap^{t} Lounds ℔ Cap^{t} Bryce

[61] Eddis, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

[62] Horace Wells Sellers, "Charles Willson Peale, Artist-Soldier," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXXVIII (1914), p. 261.

Dear Sir

I have just time to acknowledge the Receipt of yours of the 14th of September Last: I never Knew that Birstall Intended for Bristol till he had sailed. And Hear it Proceeded from a Quarrell Between the two Partners: And Hope I shall be no sufferer by it. As surely the Insurers Cannot in Law or Justice Keep the Premium Where they were not at any Risque or Liable to any Loss in Case of the vessells Being Taken Going into Bristol and Where she did not sail on the voyage for which she was Insured. Having Cleared out for another Port
At most they Can but Claim the Premium for Insurance to the Port for which she Cleared at the Rate Insurance was at the time that was made must Leave it to you to transact for me in the affair in the best manner you Can.

I am glad to hear our Iron Keeps up in Price but that Plaguey moth of Insurance Eats up all Proffits on it.

Robert's ship the Lyon sailed with Convoy I am with Compliments to all with you Dear Sir

Your most Humble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Decr 6th 1757
To Mr William Anderson
merchant in London

℔ Capt Bryce
℔ Capt. Lounds
℔ Capt. Somerwell
to London Decr 30th

Sir/

Yours of the 6th of September Last ℔ Captain Edmonds with the Goods sent by Him Came to hand those for my own Account are all Right, those for my Account for the Baltimore Company I have not yet Examined I was in Hopes that the Goods sent would not have Been Burthened with a higher Insurance then if they had Come by the fleet in the spring But find Nine Guineas ℔ Ct addition, my Loss by that omission of sending them by that Convoy if not Corrected must be

upwards of 20 Guineas But Expect an Allowance we here allow one Quarter of a hundred in Every Ton of Pigg to make up for Differences of sales and what the Iron may Lose by breaking in Putting on board and stowing so think it strange that there should be any Deficiency when weighed with you And am much surprized at the Difference of sales, that sent to other Merchants the same year fetching me seven Pounds Ten ℔ Ton, That to you only seven Pounds so that thereby in the Twenty Ton I Lose Ten Pounds

The Bill of Lading for the Iron In the Lyon Captain Dyer must Certainly be mislaid in your Counting House as I find by Goods sent me wrote for in mine of the 30th of November 1756 that one Copy of those Letters Inclosing one of the four Bills of Lading for the Iron in that Ship must have Reached you. Hope your Clerk will find it. I send you an attested Copy of the Remaining one by this opportunity but Hope it will be unnecessary and that I shall have no trouble in settling that Insurance.

You have not advised me what the Premium was. Hope it will not be higher than that Charged by other merchants in the Trade. I have but Just time to Close this Letter to you if I find any mistakes in your accounts sent me shall advise you of them

I am Sir yr Most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Decr 11th 1757
To Mr John Steuart Merchant
in London

℔ Capt Bryce
pr Capt Lounds
℔ Capt Somerwell to London

Sir

Inclosed I send you Bill of Lading for Ten Ton of Baltimore Pigg Iron on Board the Experiment and Certificate of its being Plantation made

Hope by your Disposal of this for my Interest in the best

manner to be Incouraged to Carry on a Correspondance. The Iron is Extremely Good In Kind and Rarely sells in London under seven Pounds Ten shill^{s} ℔ Ton But must Hope a Better Price and Account from your Port shall be Glad to Have a Line from you by the first opportunity and am

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
Nov^{r} 13th 1757
To James Gildart Esq^{r}
Merchant in Liverpool

℔ Cap^{t} Bryce
℔ Capt. Lounds
℔ Capt. Somerwell to London
Dec^{r} 30th

Gent/

I wrote you of the 1st of Sept. last that I Had Drawn a set Bills on you at Sixty Days sight Payable to M^{r} Lancelot Jacques for one Hundred and forty five Pounds my occasions not Requiring it I have not Drawn the said Bill But have now Drawn a set on you Payable to Captain Francis Lounds of this Date for Fifty four Pounds Nine shillings and seven Pence at thirty days sight. Hope you will before this Reaches have Received my Pigg Iron and be in Cash for it before the Day of Payment of the Bills which I Desire you should Pay and Charge to my Account I am Gent

Your most Humble Servant

C C

Annapolis Maryland
Dec^{r} 12th 1757
To Mess^{rs} Gale and Ponsonby
Merch^{t} in White Haven

℔ Cap^{t} Bryce to Liverpool
℔ Cap^{t} Lounds to D^{o}
℔ Cap^{t} Somerville to London

Gent/

Yours of July the 26th is just now Come to hand and I assure you that I am so far from Doubting your Having Done the best for me in the Disposal of my Ship and her Cargo that it Gives me some uneasiness that I have not since been able to Consign to your management some of my Effects which is owing Intirely to your Captains Engaging to others before I had an opportunity of speaking to them.

But I hope to have it in my Power by them or some others to make you next year a Remittance to Clear the Ballance due to you for the advance of which to me I assure you I am much obliged.

I Promise you I am not so unreasonable as to be Displeased at any Person for Declining to Gratify my Requests at the Risque of their own fortunes.

I shall Give your account Credit by the Payments made for me mentioned in yours of the above Date and shall neglect no opportunity of Continuing a Correspondence with you and Convincing you that I am not unmindfull of the obligations Confer'd upon

Gentlemen your most Humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland
January 2d 1758
To John Hanbury Esqr
& Company Merchants
in London

℔ Captain
Somerville to Londn
Janry 4th

Sir

I was and am still Informed that the Price of a pair of your mill stones was Ten Pounds which I am willing to Give for such a pair as you Describe full 15 Inches Thick and four feet in Diameter & hope you will not Exact upon me—if do must Get them Elsewhere I shall want them Delivered at my mill

near the Baltimore Iron works about the Latter End of March or Beginning of April

Shall be Glad to have a Line from you in Relation thereto

I am your Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis January 2d 1758
To Mr William Husbands Junr
Susquehanna . . .

Annapolis January 17th 1758

Madam

I have as Ex. of my Father two Bonds of Mr Tobias Stansburys one for seventy four Pounds six shillings sterling the principal and Interest By Payments was Reduced January 19th 1756 to Fifty six Pounds nineteen shillings sterling since when it is to have Credit By some Articles Bought of Mr Stansbury a Joiner for whom I was to Give him Eighteen Pounds sterling and a Quarter Cask of Madeira seven Pounds Currency But as those Articles are on my Books at Patapsco Dont Know the Dates Exactly or would send you an Account Regularly Drawn off

The other Bond is for fifty Pounds sterling as security for Mr Jas. Chaplin of Frederick County Dated the 3d of October 1752 all the Principal and Interest of which is due. Mr Stansbury had Promised to Help me to what was Due on the first Bond to assist me in making up a sum I am shortly to Pay on Account of my Fathers Estate for your Assistance in which I shall be much obliged and for your Consideration of me in Relation to the other.

I am Madam with Respects your most Humble Servant

C. C.

To Mrs Stansbury
Baltimore County

Sir

Handel Henn is in your Custody at my suit as Executor of my Father I Do not Recollect what the sum is that is due on his Bond for Principal and Interest But it may be seen as the Bond I suppose is in your County office He writes me word he Can Pay me Immediately thirty Pounds and Can Give me his Bond with Good security for the Remainder as the Keeping him in Confinement must be Greatly to his Detriment If youl Please to see what is Due on his Bond and Receive of him for me the thirty Pounds and take his Bond Payable to me for the Remainder with such security as you shall think Good I will agree that he may be Discharged He must Pay all fees and Costs

I am Sir your most Humble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis April 27th 1758

To I. Dickson Esqr Sheriff of Frederick County

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the St George Capt Montgomery now Loading in Chester River twenty five Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron. I Desire that you will make Insurance on the said vessell for me there and thence to the Port of London till unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions five Pounds ℔ Ton which as I hope she will sail with Convoy will be at a moderate Premium.

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland June 15th 1758

To Mr William Anderson Mercht in London

sent to New York by the Post

Given to John Golder for Virginia

Given to Mr Robt Lloyd to send By Colo Loyd two ships Fanning & Noel

Per Captain Martin June 30th 1758

Sent by Mr Johnson to put on board some ship in Charles County for Scotland

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the King of Prussia Captain Thomson now lying in Patowmack river Twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron as I hope Insurance will be Low as she will sail with Convoy I suppose

I Desire you will make Insurance on the said vessell for me there and thence to the Port of London till unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions six Pounds ℔ Ton

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis June 30th 1758

To Mr Anthony Bason
Merchant in London

℔ Capt Creamore
Given to John Golder to put on board some ship in Virginia sent by the way of New York

Given to N. Maccubbin to send by Captain Martin

Sent by Mr Wolstenholme to put on board one of Coll Lloyds ships. not sent Ship. Being sailed

Sent by Mr Johnson to put on board a Scotch ship in Charles County

---

Gent

It is with Pleasure that I Embrace this opportunity of Shipping you by your ship the Lyon Captain Snow now Laying in Choptank River Eight Tons of Barr Iron and four Tons of Pigg as I hope the Barr Iron will Clear me at Least fifteen Pounds ℔ Ton and the Pig five Pounds pr Ton. Desire you would make Insurance on the said Vessel for me there and thence to the Port of London and there untill unlivered that

In Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Deductions the sum of one hundred and forty Pounds

I am Gentlemen your M. H^ble^ Serv^t^

C. C.

Annapolis July 2^d^ 1758
To John Hanbury Esq^r^ and
Company Merch^t^ in London

Aug^st^ 14^th^ Golder
Given to John Golder to put on board some ships in Virginia

Given to M^r^ Wolstenholms to send by two of Coll Lloyds ships

Sent to New York by the Post.

Sent by a ship in Charles County to Scotland ℔ M^r^ Johnson

Sir

I send you By the Hands of M^r^ Outerbridge Horsey £32.. 10.. 0 our Currency which I suppose at Least on a par with yours to pay for Two Stills to be had of James Holdan Copper smith in Front Street Be spoke for me by M^r^ Zachariah Hood when last with you the weight of one about fifty four Gallons & the other about Twenty seven Gallons the Copper worms to Each Included at Eight Shillings ℔ Gallon. I would have them Contrived so as to Come to me by the next Packet Boat from Sasafras on board of which he is by agreement to Deliver them at his own Expence If there should any Further Expence Accrue on them Please to make Charge thereof to me and the money shall be Remitted you by the first opportunity

I am Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland July 7^th^ 1758
To M^r^ Reese Meredith merch^t^
in Philadelphia

Sent ℔ M^r^ Outerbridge Horsey

Sir

I Have this Day By Mr Outerbridge Horsey the first safe Hand that offer'd sent up to Mr Reese Meredith at Philadelphia on yr acct £32.. 10.. 0 to Pay for the stills wch are Ready and orders to Have them sent to Annapolis By the next Packet Hope they will Come Safe and in suitable Time.

I am Respectfully Sir

yr most Hble Servt

July 7th 1758 C. C.

To Mr Henry Griffith
Elk Ridge

Gent/

I Received yours by the Dragon with the Mill Stones with your Account Current, for all my Effects shipped you Except the Iron and Tobacco in the Tryall mills. there were two Hogsheads in that vessel that went on my Account one with my own mark the other marked P A E No 1 for which I sent you a Bill of Loading. the Glass Received by the Whites Bought of Elizabeth Adams was but Bristol Glass tho' she Charges me with best Crown Glass and I think she should Refund the Difference. I observe you Charge me in your Account £4.. 14.. 0 for Commission and Brokerage on Recovery of the Insurance on the Lyon as the money was paid I suppose in London there Could not be much more Trouble in the Receipt of it than if Due on Bills Remitted But if an usual Charge must submit shall Expect my Iron in Mills will sell for more than seven Pounds otherwise the out Ports will be the best Markets to send to

Should this year have shipped you some but your ships were Engaged I am with Great Regard

Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Augst 20th 1758
To Messrs John Steuart and Company
Merchants in London prCapt Montgomerie & Watson

Gentlemen/

I Received yours of the 20th of March last with my account Current Ballance in my Favour £136.. 14.. 0 I did indeed Expect my Iron would have sold for more than seven Pounds ℔ Ton as it is of that Kind that Could not be hurt in Price by any Quantity that Could be Run from the Furnace that make Iron with Pit Coal its being of the soft tough and maliable Kind and that Run from Pit Coal if it Can be Done to answer Expence which I must Doubt must be hard Charlish and only fit for Castings and Cannot Possibly interfere with us nor have we any such advices from London where it sells @ £7.. 10.. 0 But I find Every method Taken to Lower the value of what Comes from the Colonys which I think you Gentlemen in the Trade should Endeavour as much as you Can to support as the Price is to Low at your Port we Cannot afford to Give a Greater freight to Git it thither than to London which was never more than 7/6 ℔ Ton and 10 or 15 shillings ℔ Ton a better Price The Ballance in my Favour after Paying the Bill to Captain Francis Lounds will be £102.. 4.. 5 for which I have Drawn a sett of Bills on you of this Date Payable to Mr Lancelot Jacques at Thirty Days sight which I Desire you will Pay and Charge to my account. I shall be Glad to hear from you and Whether your Market is Like to Prove better as I shall with Pleasure Carry on a Correspondence with you if I Can do it on any footing so as not to be Great a sufferer as I am with Great Regard

Gent your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Augst 20th 1758
To Messrs Gale and Ponsonby
Merchants in White haven ℔ Capt. Montgomerie & Watson

on Copy to Jacques

P. S to Mr Bacons letter below

I wrote the above before I had Received my Invoice from the Baltimore works for my supply to which the Goods are In-

tended & find they will Come to more then Expected if you do not Chuse to send the whole Invoice send the Linnens woollens &c. from the beginning of the Invoice to the amount of what the Iron will Clear Insured as above

y^rs as Supra

Sir

I have shipped you in your Ship the King of Prussia Captain Thomson twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron for which I send you Bill of Loading and a Certificate of its being Plantation made I am in hopes it will Clear me at Least six pounds ℔ Ton

I Desire you will send me by the first ship Comeing with Convoy Convenient to Patapscoe River the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice Marked. and make Insurance for me that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear the Cost of the said Goods and Expences

If the Produce of the Pigg Iron Does not Intirely answer the Charges and Cost of the Goods you may Depend on being Satisfied what ever you are in advance for me by the next shipping Either by Bills of Exchange or by Pigg Iron or other Remittance

I am Sir y^r most humble serv^t

C. C.

Annapolis Aug^st 20^th 1758
To M^r Anthony Bacon Merch
in London

℔ Capt Montgomerie & Thomson

Sir

I Hope youl Receive safe by your ship the S^t George Captain Montgomery 25 Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron for which I send you Inclosed Bill of Lading and Certificate of its being Plantation made and Desire you would by the first of your

ships Coming with Convoy Convenient to Annapolis send me the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice and make Insurance thereon so that in Case of Loss I may Recover the amount of them Clear of all Charges as they are for my own use I would have them the best of the sorts—the furniture of the neat Plain fasshion and Calculated for Lasting nothing of the Whimsical or Chinese Tast which I abominate

The Cloaths I would have made by Jonathan Reynolds a Taylor in new Court Carey street Lincolns Inn fields who has my measure but I believe I am through Laziness something Fatter than when I left you but in Case he should have Lost my measure Inclosed I send it Taken here

As I hope you are before this time in Cash for my Iron by the Lyon I have Drawn on you the undermentioned Bills which I Desire you will Pay and Charge to my Account If there should be any Ballance due to you on account of the Goods wrote for it shall be Remitted to you by Effects next year and I suppose none of the Tradesmen with you but would willingly Deal at a Twelve months sure Pay but would Rather be Disappointed in the Furniture and Cloaths than my Bills should meet with Dishonour

I sincerely wish you and Family all Happiness
and am Dear Sir your most Humble Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Augst 20th 1758
To James Maccubbin £100.. 0.. 0
To Henry Griffith 30.. 0.. 0

130.. 0.. 0

for M^{r} William Anderson merchant in London
p^{r} Capt. Montgomerie & Watson

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to M^{r} William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the 20th of August 1758 viz—for my own use

Hatts 2 Dozen of mens Felts
4 pieces of osnabrigs @ about $6^{d}1/2$ and 7^{d} ℔ Ell
2 pieces of Grey Fearnought
4 pieces of Welsh Cotton
6 Loaves of Double and 6 single refined sugar
2 pieces of blew ½ thick
1 Dozen of blew worsted or yarn hose for servant women at about 9 or 10 shillings ℔ Dozen
1 piece of matchcoat Blankets
2 pieces of Irish Linnen @ $1^{s}/2^{d}$
2 p^{s} of Chex @ 10^{d}
4 Pound of brown oz^{a} thread & 1^{lb} of Green Ditto
6 ticks of Red mohair
1 Gross of Brass waistcoat buttons with Good strong shanks
1 Gross of best velvet Corks for Quart Bottles
1 Pound of best Jesuit Bark Powdered and Close Packed
1 Dove Tail saw and one Tenant Ditto
18 pair of H Hinges 18 Inches Long the joints Raised full half an Inch
1 Pound of Ginger and ½ Pound of best Rhubarb
½ Pound of Jalap
¼ Pound of Glauber Salts
3 scrubbing Brush heads and 3 broom Ditto.
12 Mahogany Chairs with black Leather seats of the Neat Plain Fassion and Strong at about two Pounds ℔ Chair
2 suitable Mahogany Dining Tables made so as to fit into each other if occasion Lengthways about £ each
1 Gilt Framed Looking Glass of the Plain fassion about Eight Pounds
1 square Mahogany Card Table about three Pounds
1 Gilt framed Looking Glass about three Pounds
4 pieces of Printed Cotton at about 25/ Each piece fit for bed Courtains of Grave Colour Figure Large one suit of Padusoy or other strong fasshionable Cloaths Coat waistcoat and Breeches of the Inclosed Colour Buttons the same not made in the Extremity of the Fashion.

Send pieces that are left will serve to Repair and Buttons

1 Dozen Waistcoat and ½ Dozen silver Coat Buttons of the Inclosed Patern

1 scarlet Rackolo suitable to a Person about five foot Eight Inches high single Cape made wide and full so as to throw the Corners over the shoulders and no buttons or Button Holes Corded or worked Round the Edges narrow with silk of the same Colour

2 pair of white silk stockings about 14/ ℔ pair

1 Fashionable Gold Laced hat the Lace Plain.

300lb Weight of sheet Lead fit for Lining the Gutters of a House—

Gent/

I have Shipped you in your Ship the Lyon Capt Snow Eight Tons of Bar and four Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron the Barr was made at our Baltimore forge and from Pigg Iron of the same Kind as that shipped and Inclosed I send you a Certificate of both being Plantation made and Bill of a Certificate of both being Plantation made and Bill of Loading. As the Government at Home seem Resolved to Encourage the Importation of Bar Iron from the Plantations the Navy Board Take what Quantitys they Can Get and as we hear at £21.. 10.. 0 ℔ Ton so that hope this now sent will Clear me as it Goes with Convoy at Least £18 ℔ Ton or it will not be worth shipping as it sells hear from 28 to 30 Pounds our Currency ℔ Ton

I am with Sincere wishes for yr Welfare

Gent yr mo Hble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Aug 20th 1758

To Jno Hanbury Esqr & Comy

Merchts in London

Given Capt Chew to Give to Capt Snow

℔ Capt. Montgomerie & Watson

Sir/

Yours of the 8th of May last I Received and am sorry to Hear our Pigg Iron bears so Low a price with you as it sells at London for seven Pounds fifteen shillings ℔ Ton

As I hope you will be in Cash for the Iron before this Reaches you I have Drawn on you Payable to Mr Nicholas Maccubbin of this Date for fifty Pounds And shall be Glad to hear that the Price Rises with you. Your Project for Running Pigg with Pit Coal will I believe meet with the fate of many of that Fraternity But even should they succeed the Iron they will be able to make as it Can never be fit for any thing but Castings will by no means Lower the Price of ours which is of the Tough Malleable Kind

I am Sir your most Humble Servt

Annapolis Augt 20th 1758 C. C.

To James Gildart Esqr mercht in
Liverpool ℔ Capt. Montgomerie &
or Copy to N. Maccubbin

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a letter to Mr Anthony Bacon merchant in London Dated 20th of Augt 1758 for the Baltimore works

1500 Ells of osnabrigs		@ 7d½
4 pieces brown Roles		
4 do Hessens		
2 do brown Holland		at about ⅓
2 do Stript do		¼
4 do yard wide Irish Linnen		½
4 do	do	¼
2 do	do	⅙
2 do	Chex	¼
2 do	Callico	⅖
2 do	⅞ Dowlas	1/
2 do	Cotton Romallo	
2 do	silk Ditto	
1 do	Bed ticking	⅙

1 d° fustain	1/
3 pieces Welsh Cotton	½
3 d° matchcoat Blankets	
3 d° Kerseys	⅙
1 d° Green Pennistone	⅓
1 d° German Serg.	⅜
1 d° Bear Skin	¾
2 d° Callimanco	/10
1 d° Shalloon & trimmings for Bear Skin	
1 d° blue and white flowered flannel	1/
40m ten penny nails	

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

March 8th, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held to-night with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved, as read.

A list of the donations made to the library since the last meeting was read.

The following named persons, having been previously nominated were elected to Membership:

Active:

Mrs. Henry Dupont Baldwin
Mrs. George C. Bounds
Mr. Forrest Dodge Bowie
Dr. DeWitt B. Casler
Ryland N. Dempster
Mrs. James W. Flack, Jr.
Miss Susan Carroll Poultney Frick
Walter S. Meyer
Mrs. Alan L. Gordon
Rev. Walter Milton Haushalter
Arthur C. Howard
Mrs. Edith Sappington
Karl A. M. Scholtz
John Harwood Stanford
Mrs. Huntington Williams

Associate:

Miss Martha Lou Houston

The following death was reported:

Mrs. Blanchard (Susan Katharine Brune) Randall, died February 10th, 1937.

The speaker of the evening, Mr. H. Findlay French, was introduced. Mr. French gave a very entertaining talk entitled "Human Interest Items from Early Maryland Newspapers."

Mr. Marshall Winchester was recognized by the Chair. He moved that a vote of thanks be extended by the Society to Mr. French for his most delightful and interesting talk. So done.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

April 12, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A list of the donations made since the last meetings were read.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active:

Dr. James Bordley, 3rd
Rodney J. Brooks
Charles C. Conlon, Jr.
Miss Ida Eaton
Mrs. Emmet R. Ewell
Mrs. John Gray Goldsmith
Frederick J. Green
Mrs. J. Melvin Green
Hall Hammond
Daniel E. Klein
Harry F. Klinefelter
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R. Fowler Miller
Mayor H. W. Jackson
Thomas F. Mayer
Mrs. Thomas F. Mayer
O. H. Nance
Stanley G. Remington
Henry G. Riggs
Alan P. Smith, 3rd
Walter Prescott Smith
Henry M. Warfield
Mrs. Henry M. Warfield
George A. Whiting
Mrs. Charles R. Weld

Associate:

John O'Brien

An invitation was read from the Cecil County Historical Society asking the members of the Maryland Historical Society to join them in the unveiling ceremonies of the historical marker commemorating the birthplace of James Rumsey, the inventor of the steamboat, to take place on Saturday, May 1, at Warwick, Cecil County, Maryland.

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

Henry G. Hilken, died March 20th, 1937.
Hon. Albert Sidney Johnson Owens, died March 29th, 1937.
Hon. J. Frank Supplee, Jr., died April 2, 1937.
Dr. Jacob J. Weaver, Jr., died April 10, 1937.

Miss M. Letitia Stockett gave a most delightful account of the early days in Baltimore entitled: "Baltimore Backgrounds."

Mr. William Ingle moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Miss Stockett for her most interesting talk.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

JAMES E. HANCOCK,
Recording Secretary.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

CARROLL. Wanted names of both parents of Charles and Daniel Carroll of Dudington Manor.

Miss Virginia L. Madden,
40 N. Elm st.,
Manchester, Connecticut.

Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland. By RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. $5.00 (Published May 25. Review promised for next issue of this *Magazine.*)

CORRECTION. On page 48 of the March issue of the Magazine, last and next to last line, read *Thomas Miles* for Thomas Marsh. N. B. N.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

During the vacation season, August 1st to 22nd, the Society's Rooms will be closed.

Vol. XXXII SEPTEMBER, 1937 No. 3

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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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BALTIMORE

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The attention of members of the Society is again called to the urgent need for an adequate endowment fund. Our possessions are wonderful, but lack of means has prevented their proper exploitation, so that they are largely inaccessible to students. Rare items of Maryland interest frequently escape us because no funds are available for their purchase. A largely increased sustaining membership will help somewhat, but an endowment is a fundamental need. Legacies are of course welcomed, but present-day subscriptions will bring immediate results. SUBSCRIBE NOW!

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Edited by J. Hall Pleasants, M. D.

Published by authority of the State

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Proceedings of the County Court of Charles County,
1658-1666

and

Manor Court of St. Clement's Manor,
1659-1672.

Court Series
6.

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

INCORPORATED 1843.

H. Irvine Keyser Memorial Building,
201 W. Monument Street,
Baltimore

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MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXII. SEPTEMBER, 1937. No. 3.

A LOST COPY-BOOK OF CHARLES CARROLL OF CARROLLTON.

Few years pass without bringing to light hitherto unknown letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton to his family or friends. For this there are several excellent reasons: his prodigious life-span (1737-1832), the wide-spread complexity of his interests, his philosophical turn of mind and the evident pleasure he took in putting his thoughts on paper, and his inflexible habit of keeping copies of his more important correspondence. To this last is due the survival of the letters published in the following pages. They are contained in a rough copy-book of coarse, durable paper, probably home-made, which formerly was part of the collection of Carroll manuscripts owned by the late Dr Joshua I. Cohen, of Baltimore. The vast majority of these were presented in 1915 to the Maryland Historical Society and were published, in part, in the *Maryland Historical Magazine* of 1916 and 1917. Just why this one copy-book should have been withdrawn from its fellows is not known. It remained in the possession of the late Miss Bertha Cohen until the dispersal of her belongings in 1929, when it was sold at the Anderson Galleries in New York, subsequently finding its way back to Maryland.

This year, when the State is celebrating the two hundredth anniversary of Carroll's birth, seems a fitting time for the publication of the contents of this copy-book. They cover the period of 1770-1774, when Carroll was in the full vigor of his mind, and, of course, deeply concerned with the oncoming Revolution, which he had been predicting for many years.

The letters are addressed to correspondents in Europe: William Graves, Edmund Jennings, Charles Carroll the Barrister, and the Countess d'Auzoüer. Graves (who is first mentioned by Carroll in a letter to his father in 1763 as "a Master in Chancery"), was perhaps the most intimate of a circle of friends formed by the future Signer during his residence in London at the Inner Temple. In

writing to him, Carroll unburdened himself of his most private thoughts on religion and politics, and frequently relaxed his usual stiff epistolary style. Jennings (described in an early letter as a "sensible, sober, discreet, well-behaved young man") was the son of Thomas Jennings. In 1770 he appears to be permanently established in London. Charles Carroll the Barrister is too well known to students of Maryland history to need further comment here. The following letters were addressed to him while he and his wife were in England for reasons of health. As for the Countess d'Auzoüer, the recipient of a single long, interesting letter heavily freighted with family matters, nothing is known beyond the self-evident fact that she was a distant kinswoman of Carroll's, married to a Frenchman of title.

J. G. D. Paul.

To Edmund Jennings.

18 Decembr 1770

Dr Jennings:

I wrote to you ye 16 of last October, in which letter I explained ye reason of your not receiving our portraits.[1] You may expect them by Mr Carroll barrister, who proposed to set sail for England with his lady some time next May provided there should be no war. I shall send you also by the same opportunity some seeds of ye most curious of our shrubs & trees: the number will be but small because your letter without date requesting me to send you such comes too late for me to make a collection this year. I shall not be able to collect the most rare & valuable till next fall.

I have not leisure at present to give you my thoughts on the political subjects of yr last letter as fully as I could wish, but this much I shall remark, that honest & well meaning men generally entertain the same Sentiments of public measures.— "*idem velle ac sentire de republica,*" Tully says somewhere, is a proof of friendship: why so? because none but honest men can be sincere friends, and none but honest men will think alike or at least publickly express their sentiments on the political parties & disputes which may happen to divide & dis-

[1] The person discovering the whereabouts of these portraits will bring to light the first known likeness of the wife of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

tract their country. I am perfectly of your opinion that little is to be expected from a change of men: whatever set of new ministers may take y^e^ lead, the measures of administration will be equally bad. Should I be deceived in my conjectures, a long and uniform experience will however justify y^e^ boldness & malignity of the censure—since the revolution what vehemence, what eloquence, what reasoning in Parliament against mischiefs which have been continually increasing! Since that period what changes from bad & unpopular Ministers to Patriots who have lost their popularity the moment they obtained a place — because with a place their language & opinions were altered. M^r^ Cooke desires to be kindly remembered to you; my Father & M^rs^ Carroll join with me in sincere wishes for y^r^ health and happiness. I am with unfeigned esteem

S^r^ y^r^ friend & hum^l^ S^r^

C. C. of C.

8^th^ April 1771.

To Edmund Jennings.

D^r^ Sir:

This will be delivered to you by M^r^ Carroll,[1] with whose company you will be much pleased. His lady is a very amiable woman, tho' somewhat reserved to strangers. However, on a better acquaintance that reserve will entirely wear off, and then the goodness of her heart will charm you. From M^r^ Carroll you will learn the present state of politicks in this Province. He is well acquainted with its institutions & the parties in it.

I could wish to be with you, but such wishes are idle and ought not to be indulged. If I can not join in y^r^ conversations, I hope I shall sometimes be y^e^ subject of them.

Persons who dispassionately consider & reflect on public measures, will I find entertain the same opinion, tho' at ever so great a distance. By y^r^ last letter to me I see we perfectly agree in

[1] Charles Carroll the Barrister.

our sentiments regg ye seizure of Falkland's Islands. Taking possession of them could be viewed in no other light by the Spaniards, but what you mention. The inability of France, ye reluctance of ye King to war, and ye great superiority of our naval force, even when opposed by ye united marines of France & Spain, have prevented rupture with those powers, and Spain has been obliged to pocket the affront. I suppose Falkland's Islands will be restored to us: at least I conjecture so, for we do not know as yet how our negotiations with Spain have terminated.

If we are to have peace, it will be a patched-up peace, or rather a suspension from hostilities till France and Spain can go to war with better hopes of success—unless indeed we should be bound by a secret article to abandon Falkland's Islands within a certain time, as a place of no consequence & of great expense to the Nation.

Although ye political interests of nations are not subject to the same strict rules of justice which should regulate ye conduct of individuals, yet a just regard to treaties and to good faith should be rigidly observed. *Nullum bellum justum nisi necessarium,* is I think ye opinion of Tully. I believe it will not be pretended that a war undertaken to regain possession of Falkland's Islands can come under that denomination.

By the public prints I find yr Ministers bid defiance to ye opposition, which seems to be crumbling to pieces: no wonder, when most who compose it have private ends to answer, and your Ministers have ample means to gratify those ends. I despair of seeing things take another course, as long as many lucrative offices continue in ye disposition of the King, & his servants have the fingering of such prodigious sums.

I have sent you by this opportunity Mrs Carroll's & my portraits. I question whether you will discover any great likeness of yr old acquaintance in my picture: Mr Carroll & Mrs Carroll will give you their opinion on both. Mr Cooke I believe will write you by this opportunity; he told me he would. This is a busy time; you will therefore excuse the shortness and dryness of this letter. We never so much enjoy the company of a friend

as at a leisure hour; and then too it is y^e^ fittest time to write to him, when our thoughts are most disengaged from y^e^ serious trifles of this busy scene. I am, etc.

To Edmund Jennings.

9^th^ August 1771.

D^r^ Jennings:

My last to you was by M^r^ Lee. I hope that gentleman and his lady are long since safely arrived in London. Mine & M^rs^ Carroll's portraits were sent by M^r^ Carroll Barrister, by whom also I wrote to you.

From the latest London prints I find that y^e^ minority laugh at all opposition: a dead majority in y^e^ House of Commons secures them against y^e^ hatred of y^e^ People, and its impotent effects: for my own part I despair of seeing the Constitution recover its former vigour. The vast influence of y^e^ Crown, y^e^ luxury of y^e^ Great & y^e^ depravity of y^e^ common People are unsurmountable obstacles to Parliamentary independence. The liberty of y^e^ press yet remains as a check upon y^e^ Ministerial or Royal power: a few years will destroy or greatly weaken that bulwark of liberty.

The English seem to be arrived to that degree of liberty & of servitude which Galba ascribes to the Roman People in his speech to Piso: *imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.* Those same Romans a few years after that period deified the horse of Caligula. Should those who really wish well to liberty & to y^e^ constitution find it impossible to check y^e^ present system of corruption, I should not be sorry to see all y^e^ powers of y^e^ state resolved into one. A corrupt aristocracy is the worst of all governments; what shocking laws were imposed by the Roman Emperors under the sanction of the Senate! It lent its name to y^e^ worst of tyrannies—Will ye British dominions long admit of the present form of Government? To assert that they will not may

appear too bold & paradoxical; yet many plausible reasons could be brought to favour that decision.

Under the Roman Emperors the distant Provinces enjoyed more liberty than during ye latter times of ye Republic. The reason is obvious. There was but one Tyrant, when ye power of ye senators became absorbed in that of ye Prince. An aristocratic Government is ye least fitted of all others to extensive empire: and I think ye English Government approaches nearer this day to an aristocracy than to any other kind of Government. The House of Commons, which ought to be ye representative of ye People, is become the instrument of the Ministry, to raise money from the subjects: the Ministry is commonly composed of rich noblemen & of some rich commoners, connected together by ye ties of kindred or of interest; ye opposition which has been constantly made to Ministers for these 60 years past, seems to be founded rather on ye selfish views of the Outs, than upon true patriotic principles, some few excepted from the minority who perhaps have been actuated by a real love of their country, and have no other reward in prospect but the glory of doing good.

I suppose you entertain pretty near the same sentiments on politicks, and as a natural consequence have embraced that state or manner of life which is least exposed to corruption, or endangered by faction. I mean that of a private gentleman, pursuing the amusements of agriculture. *O fortunatos, nimium sua si bona norint agricolas!* The present excessive heat of ye weather makes me sincerely wish with ye same poet: *O qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi sistat et ingenti ramorum protegat umbrâ!*

The wisest philosophers, ye greatest poets, and the best men have constantly placed ye most perfect sublunary happiness in rural retirement; under the shades of Forests statesmen have sought happiness, having in vain sought after it in ye perplexed mazes of ambition & interest.

Has Voltaire published any late tracts, I mean since the year 1768? I have all his works to that time. If he has, you would oblige me by sending them to me, & be pleased to apply to Messrs P. R. on my account for payment of these or any other late

publications you may think worth my perusal. I have Robertson's History of Charles y^e^ 5^th^, y^e^ first volume of which I think instructive & entertaining; I can discover no great merit in the others. Has Hume published anything of late? Is it thought he will bring his history of England as low as y^e^ present times?

I heartily wish you well & remain very affectionately yours

C. C. C.

To William Graves.

9^th^ Aug. 1771

D^r^ Graves:

I have wrote several letters since the receipt of your last dated y^e^ 14^th^ January 1770, but have not had y^e^ pleasure of receiving any from you in answer to them. In a postscript to my letter of 16^th^ Decem^r^ 1769 I desired you to inform me what a good landscape painting would cost executed by an eminent painter in London, to shew in the clear of y^e^ frame 6 feet ten inches one way & 2 feet 8 inches y^e^ other. I intend it for a frame over my chimney piece. Should such a piece of painting come too dear, I shall fill up the vacancy with some cheaper ornament. I have not yet received the remaining volumes of Vitruvius Britannicus:[1] Two only have been sent. Payne kept y^e^ third to have y^e^ others bound like it. Be pleased to remind him to send that with y^e^ other volumes to compleat y^e^ set to Messrs. P. B. & B. In my letter of y^e^ 23^d^ July 1770 I beg^d^ the favour of you to send me l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche's Travels thro' Russia to Tolboskoi (*sic*), capital of Siberia. To these I entreat you to add Voltaire's publications since y^e^ year 1768.

Altho' I am at a loss how to account for y^r^ long silence, yet I do not as yet give over y^e^ pleasing expectation or hope of receiving a letter from you by some of y^e^ fall ships: if I should be disappointed in this expectation, I hope you will answer this

[1] The presence of this and other architectural works in the library at Doughoregan may in part account for the perfection of "Homewood," the house built by Charles Carroll, Jr., on the outskirts of Baltimore.

letter by the first opportunity and comply with its contents. I am with great sincerity, your friend & hum. Servt

C. C. C.

To Charles Carroll the Barrister.

9th August 1771.

Dr Sir:

This I hope will find you & Mrs Carroll safely arrived in England and perfectly pleased with yr situation and the amusements of that country; in a few weeks I suppose you will set off for Bath, whose waters I sincerely wish may afford you that relief which you expected from them when here. I should be glad to know whether England answers Mrs Carroll's expectations: I dare say you find surprising alterations since you left it, particularly in London.

This is dead time with us. Politicks are scarce talked of. The scene of action will soon be opened, and I doubt not we shall have a hot campaign this fall. D. D.[1] has of late been much troubled with ye Cholic; this looks as if things do not go to his liking. He has resided Chiefly during ye summer at H. Ridge; his family remains in town. He is perhaps brooding Schemes of mischief and laying plans of crooked policy.* The Major tells me he has wrote to you lately, I suppose he has given you an account of his & De Butt's rastling at the Governor's and some other particulars of that drunken frolic. Mrs Eden was

[1] Daniel Dulany, the eminent jurist, who later locked horns with Charles Carroll of Carrollton in the celebrated newspaper controversy between "First Citizen" and "Antillon." There was considerable ill-feeling between the two families, which nearly resulted in a duel between Charles Carroll and Lloyd Dulany, Daniel's half-brother.

* He still talks of going to England in ye Spring: whether he will or not time will shew. If he goes it will be with a view, it is thought, to get his son appointed Secretary, or perhaps (which I really take to be ye case) to fly from ye contempt & hatred of his countrymen, for although his retainers puff him off, & talk much of his vast influence, it is pretty well known to be greatly on ye decline; ye loss of his popularity chagrins him to ye quick, & ye improbability of regaining it adds to his mortification.

so much alarmed (as it is said) at y^e^ disturbance they made in y^e^ house that she miscarried.

You have no doubt seen the letters published in our Gazette ag^t^ Ned Tilghman:[2] he has not deigned to answer the invectives of an anonymous author, not choosing, I suppose, y^e^ trouble & perplexity of a paper war.

Colonel Lloyd[3] has purchased Chase's house; it has cost y^e^ Colonel upwards of £3000 cur^y^ and I really think when the offices are finished and the house compleatly furnished it will cost him £6000 more. You are as good a judge as myself whether y^e^ Colonel has acted prudently in buying this house; it is however agreed on all hands that Chase has acted very wisely in selling it: he has got rid of an encumbrance which must have ruined him at y^e^ long run: the money received of Lloyd will extricate him from all difficulties, he is now independent, & may if he pleases continue & become more serviceable to the Public.

Shuttleworth & D^r^ Tootle have had a boxing bout: Tootle got terribly mauled & still feels y^e^ effects of his bruises, altho' y^e^ fray happened above a month ago. Two of a trade can never agree. Some old grudge has subsisted between them—something that Shuttleworth gave out Tootle had said about Middleton revived it & occasioned the combat. Tootle, according to Shuttleworth, thought y^e^ disease which carried Middleton off, y^e^ pox. This came to M^rs^ Middleton's ears, who was greatly distressed at y^e^ possible imputation of having poxed her husband or of being poxed by him. She taxed Tootle with y^e^ calumny,

[2] Colonel Edward Tilghman, a prime mover in the opposition to the Stamp Tax.

[3] Colonel Edward Lloyd (IV) of Wye House. The house referred to is still standing in Annapolis, and is known to architects the country over. Its foundations were laid in 1769 by Samuel Chase (later the "Signer"). It would appear that the main body of the house was well finished when, for some reason unknown, it was sold to Colonel Lloyd. In 1826 Edward Lloyd V sold it to his son-in-law, Henry Hall Harwood, for $6500, and from his heirs it was acquired in 1847 by Miss Hester Ann Chase. It is now a Home for elderly gentlewomen, maintained under the auspices of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

& gave him her author. A much less cause has involved mighty nations in war: *fuit ante Helenam cunnus teterrima belli causa.* The doctors have not proceeded to greater lengths, and I much question whether the quarrel will finally be decided with y^e^ pistol or sword. They are both perhaps of Hudibras' opinion that

"Great danger doth environ
The man who meddles with cold iron."

Tootle, however, swears vengeance & that he will take all advantages, knock down his antagonist & then if he chooses fight him afterwards with any weapon.

Doctor Murray[4] is soon to be married to Miss Roberts: he had courted Molly Dulany, but got a flat. Failing of success in that quarter he addressed Miss Roberts & has succeeded: every thing is settled: y^e^ nuptials are to be celebrated some time next October.

I hope you have not forgot my commission about y^e^ coach. Remember that y^e^ box must be made to take off occasionally: harness for 4 horses & spare glasses must be sent with y^e^ coach. As to all other particulars I leave them entirely to your taste & fancy, recommending only to y^e^ artist a neat simplicity, lightness & strength in his work.

I beg to be very kindly remembered to your lady. M^rs^ Carroll gives her love to her, & desires to have y^e^ few trifles she was to get for her in London sent by some fall ship or very early in the Spring. We both join in our compliments to you & M^rs^ Carroll, & sincerely wish you both health & spirits to enjoy the gay scenes of London & Bath. I do not know whether you wish to return, but it would give me great pleasure to see you safe landed in Annapolis. I suppose we may expect you next spring or summer; in y^e^ meantime pray write to me frequently. The variety of incidents which daily occur in London will always

[4] Probably James Murray (b. 1739, d. 1819) a leading physician and medical instructor of Annapolis.

furnish ample matter for a letter, and I do not flatter when I assure you your letters will give great satisfaction to

Yr most hum. Sert

C. C. C.

To the Countess of Auzoüer.

Sept. 20th 1771.

Madam:

I received your unexpected and very obliging letter dated ye 13th of last February about 2 month ago. The cause to which you attributed my sudden departure from France, thank God, has not yet happened: my Father is still alive, & enjoys in an advanced age, the spirits of youth and ye understanding of a man of 40. He is the greatest comfort of my life, & I do all in my power, to render him happy & easy.

The not keeping my promise of paying you a visit was not therefore owing to the accident to which you favorably ascribed it, but really (to speak honestly) to a certain giddiness incident to youth, and which I now sincerely repent of, as it has deprived me of the pleasure of an acquaintance with a lady of an exceeding good heart & understanding, to judge from yr letter, the only means now left me of judging by.

After this frank declaration, ye best apology I can make for forfeiting my word, I shall proceed in compliance with yr request, to make you acquainted with my situation & circumstances, & as far as I am able with those of the persons you enquire after. The affection you are pleased to express for me, which I believe to be real & for which you have my sincere thanks, encourages me to dwell longer upon myself & my affairs than I should otherwise choose to do from an apprehension of sliding into partiality or of being tiresome & dull: should dulness or partiality appear in ye following account of myself, remember ye fault lays at yr door.

All the descendants of the House of Buttler established in this Province soon after the settlement are extinct or so miserably

reduced by poverty as to be unknown: in a commercial nation, the glory of illustrious progenitors will not screen their needy posterity from obscurity & want.

Michael Macnamara died in goal since my return to this Province. He left issue two sons: the eldest is now a Surgeon's mate on board a Russian man of war in y^e^ Mediterranean; the second is bound apprentice to the Baltimore Company,[1] thus a set of gentlemen, of whom I am one, stile themselves, having entered into a co-partnership for carrying on an Iron-work. I much question whether either of these youths will turn out well, as they seem strongly to partake of y^e^ perverse temper of their Father, his untoward disposition & passions lead him on to vice, from vice to want, & from want to ignominy: I wish my prognostication of his sons may prove false, but similar causes produce similar events.—

I am convinced, Madam, that no interested view prompts you to enquire after your relations in these parts, but as you friendly express it, a desire of being made known to them, and of hearing from them. I wish my acquaintance with the genealogy of our families was sufficient to give you a satisfactory account of them. But having left Maryland my native country at 11 years of age, to be educated in France far from my relations, the studies of my youth and subsequent occupations of manhood have prevented my enquiries on this subject. All I know of my family I shall now candidly impart to you. Charles my grandfather, y^e^ first of our family who settled in this Province, was second son of Dan. Carroll of Litterlouna of Kings County in the Kingdom of Ireland, younger brother to Antony of Lishenboy. My grandfather married Mary Darnall the daughter of Colonel Henry Darnall on the 14^th^ of Feb^y^ 1693. He had issue by this marriage 3 sons, Henry, Charles & Daniel, & several daughters; the daughters all lived and died single. The eldest son died at sea unmarried on his return to Maryland from Europe. Charles my Father was born y^e^ 2^d^ April 1702 & married Eliz^a^ Brooke,

[1] The Baltimore Company (or the Baltimore Iron Works) consisted of Charles Carroll, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Carroll the Barrister, Daniel Dulany, Walter Dulany, Benjamin Tasker and others.

daughter of Clement Brooke Esq^{r} of which marriage I am the only issue. My mother died on y^{e} 12th March 1761, while I was in London to my great grief, not having seen her since I left my home in 1747.—She was a most excellent woman, beloved & esteemed by all who knew her: excuse, Madam, this merited praise bestowed on a most amiable & fond parent. Daniel the 3rd son of Charles my grandfather married Ann Rozier in 1728, and had issue one son named Charles & two daughters, and died y^{e} 15th April 1734. Charles married Mary Hill, has issue 3 sons all alive, himself now living. His eldest sister Eleanor married one Daniel Carroll, a very distant relation: she died some years ago & left one son & one daughter, both alive: the second sister Mary married Ignatius Digges, is now living but has no issue. Having given this short account of the descendants of Charles Carroll my grandfather, I shall now communicate to you some further particulars, which you may perhaps think interesting, relative to him, his 2nd son Charles my Father, and myself.

My grandfather had a liberal education in foreign schools, having studied humanity at Lille, Philosophy, the civil & canon laws in the University of Douay. He entered the Society of y^{e} Inner Temple in London on 6th May 1685, where gentlemen who are bred up to y^{e} law generally reside for 4 or 5 years, to acquire a competent knowledge of their profession.

The family estate being greatly impaired by the iniquity of the times, which had stripped the most ancient Irish families of their property, he resolved to seek his fortune far distant from the scene of such oppressions. Being a Roman Catholick he pitched on Maryland, where the free exercise of that religion & equal privileges were granted to its Professors by a royal Charter, afterwards confirmed by a perpetual law of this Province. He arrived in Maryland on y^{e} first of Oct. 1688, with a commission from y^{e} then Lord Baltimore constituting him Attorney General. On his quitting England he chose the following motto: *ubicumque cum libertate*, ingeniously alluding to y^{e} Hawke, part of y^{e} family crest, & his value of liberty, which by a voluntary banishment from his country, family &

friends he sought & hoped to enjoy in the wilds of America. Vain & short lived hope! The English Revolution of 1688, which placed the crown of the Stuarts on y^e^ head of W^m^ the 3^rd^ set an example to a similar revolution in this province in the following year. The Revolutionists usurped the Government then in Charles Calvert, the first Lord Proprietary of this Province: they turned out of their places all the R. C. gentlemen, vested with most & chief of y^e^ posts of honour, profit & trust, hanged some of them, & imprisoned many, among whom was my grandfather, & forced others to seek their safety in flight, & plundered their houses & goods. These civil commotions & outrages being repressed by orders from the King of England, the Proprietary trusted y^e^ management of his revenue to his R. C. friends & appointed Col. H. Darnall, whose daughter M^r^ Carroll afterwards married, his agent & Receiver-general & keeper of his great seal for granting lands, & my grandfather Register of his land-office; who on M^r^ Darnall's death succeeded to all his posts, in which he continued, under the 1^st^ Lord Charles, Benedict & Charles y^e^ 2^d^, with ample & enlarged powers, until y^e^ year 1717, when he was removed from all his posts much against his Lordship's will, in compliance with y^e^ necessities of the times. The assembly of this Province, constituted in imitation of y^e^ English parliam^t^ of two houses, y^e^ upper & y^e^ lower, y^e^ former being composed of 12 gentlemen who likewise form his Lordship's Privy Council, y^e^ latter of y^e^ representatives of y^e^ People, had in y^e^ aforesaid year 1717 passed laws depriving y^e^ R. C. of the few privileges which yet remained, and among others the privilege of chusing representatives in Assembly: not content with this act of injustice, they made the employing of R. C. in y^e^ manage^t^ of his Lordship's private concerns, a public grievance.

My grandfather died 1^st^ July 1720 in the 60^th^ year of his age, having laid the foundation of an estate, at this day the most considerable in the Province possessed by any one individual.

When my Father came to the estate, which was nearly divided

between him and his brother Daniel, he was but 18 years of age. The experience of his relation James Carroll, by whose advice he suffered himself to be guided, was of singular service at that critical time of life—his guardian strongly urged the sweets of independence, and as a necessary means of attaining it, a well regulated economy. My father was convinced of the justness of this reasoning, and loving independence practised economy to be independent. A prudent management during a long life has made him the richest individual in this Province, without y^e^ favour of Government, even in opposition to it, & in spight of many injustices suffered thro' y^e^ envy of public & private persons.—He now lives at a seat of his about 30 miles from this town [Annapolis] retired from y^e^ business & y^e^ cares of life, dividing his time between his books, y^e^ society of his friends, and y^e^ occupations of agriculture.

The many friendly and affectionate expressions in your letter encourage me to say now something of myself. In 1747, I left Maryland to be educated in y^e^ college of English Jesuits at St. Omer, where I continued 5½ years, from thence I was removed to a college of French Jesuits at Rheims, from which place after a year's residence I went to Louis-le-Grand at Paris, & continued there two years. Here it was that Mons^r^ d'Augé and I got acquainted: his recommendations of me are to be attributed to the prepossessions & prejudices of youth more than to my merit. His friendship, believe me, dear Madam, has greatly magnified whatever he saw commendable or praiseworthy in his school fellow, but his partiality is pleasing, & I beg, if he should ever again fall in your way, to be kindly remembered to him. From Paris I went to Bourges to study y^e^ civil, or Roman law; in 18 months I returned to Paris & after ten months' stay, set out for London toward y^e^ close of y^e^ year 1758. I lived in London near 4 years and embarked y^e^ 20^th^ of Sept^r^ 1764 at Gravesend for Maryland. I did not reach this place till y^e^ February following, owing to y^e^ tediousness of y^e^ voyage & y^e^ severity of y^e^ winter after my arrival in Virg^a^ the next adjacent Province to y^e^ Southward of this.

I maried Miss Mary Darnall y^e^ 5^th^ of June 1766. She has

brought me two girls: y^e^ eldest died at 6 months old: the younger is alive, a thriving child 13 months old. I despair of ever paying you a visit at Auzoüer. Should any unforeseen circumstance occasion my taking a trip to France, my inclination would strongly lead me to the place of y^r^ abode, where I should be sure of being received with that cordiality & joy which would warm my breast at our happy and unexpected meeting.

The languishing condition of your only & promising son gives me unfeigned concern. If his constitution be not too much impaired, a change of air & exercise might be of great service, but I must recommend most of all some active employment. Grief preys most on the inactive mind—the bustling, busy scenes of life are y^e^ best preventives ag^t^ melancholy: which grows the more it is indulged. But your letter gives me little room to expect his recovery: the gradual approach of death, your piety & resignation to y^e^ will of God has prepared you for this severe trial. You have a daughter left to console you for his loss; her tender care will be employed to soften a parent's grief. May she long live y^r^ comfort: she will excuse a wish of mine, that she may make some deserving man happy, be blessed with tender pledges of mutual love, y^e^ surest solace of declining age. I beg my most respectful compliments to your husband, & be assured, dear Madam, that no one more ardently wishes for y^e^ happiness of your family than y^r^ affectionate kinsman & most humble Serv^t^ C. C. C.

I make no doubt you will procure some one to translate the above letter. I should have wrote it in French, but from disuse I found upon trial that I could not express myself with y^e^ same ease & propriety in that language as in my own.

To Charles Carroll the Barrister.

3^d^ Decem^r^ 1771.

D^r^ Sir:

I got Your kind letter of y^e^ 3^d^ of August on my return home from a jaunt to New York; M^rs^ Carroll, M^r^ & M^rs^ Ridout were

of y^e^ party. The company, the fine weather & y^e^ civilities we received in Ph^a^ & New York all contributed to make it very agreeable. The things you mention to have sent by Cap^t^ M^c^Laughlin are not yet come to hand. I imagine they are at M^rs^ Tilghman's. M^rs^ Carroll therefore can not as yet give her opinion of y^e^ silk, altho' she is satisfied it is pretty, having a very high one of y^r^ good taste, and is exceedingly obliged to your lady for y^e^ trouble she has taken in executing these commissions. I suppose I may expect my coach this spring or summer; that it will be genteel & fashionable I have not y^e^ least doubt, & bought on y^e^ best terms. As I have dropt in great measure my correspondence with Messrs. P. Boss, you will be pleased to apply to M^r^ John Buchanan for pay^t^ of y^e^ coach & of y^e^ other matters, unless you should have already received y^e^ cash from y^e^ former before this reaches you.—

I suppose M^rs^ Carroll is better reconciled to her new manner of life than when you wrote to me. I was not surprised to hear she prefers y^e^ domestic amusements of Maryland to y^e^ vanities of St. James's. The society of a few choice friends is worth all y^e^ pomp & emptiness of a court, where friendship never approaches.—Seldom indeed is to be met with in the highest stations of life. The dissipation, ambition & vanity of y^e^ great are mortal enemies to sincerity, y^e^ source & basis of friendship.

The conduct of y^e^ ministry with respect to Wilkes has been as ridiculous as can well be conceived. I derive this consolation from their folly, that no great mischiefs are to be apprehended to y^e^ constitution from such Politicians—unless y^e^ universal depravity should render y^e^ subversion of liberty an easy task to y^e^ meanest capacities.

I think our politicks are as contemptible, & more pernicious than those of England. Could you imagine y^e^ right of fixing officers' fees by proclamation would be claimed at this time of day? I think I see you stare at the very question, & well may you be surprised— but y^e^ fact is so, I assure you. The Governor's [1] answer to y^e^ address of y^e^ lower house against y^e^

[1] Governor Eden.

proclamation issued last year and beginning of this clearly sets up such a claim. However, as you will no doubt receive a full & distinct acct. from Mr Tilghman of ye proceedings of ye late session, & of its issue, I shall say little more on this subject, tho' I can not help saying that I am sorry to see the Govr entirely swayed by ye counsel of one man,[2] insolent & impolitic enough to advise such selfish measures. All things here will soon lie in the greatest confusion, & unless a very different policy be shortly pursued, the Governor must bid adieu to all happiness in his present station.* War is now declared between Governt and ye People, or rather between a few placemen, the real enemies to Governt and all the inhabitants of this Province. Ye issue of ye contest in so just a cause between such unequal numbers cannot be doubtful.

I read that part of yr letter to ye Governor where you mention his brother. He seemed pleased with it. No new incidents have occurred since my last date ye 9th of August worth mentioning except the above. Dr Murray & Miss Roberts have quarreled; ye match was as quickly broke off as concluded on: the real cause of ye rupture perhaps still remains a secret. Both are blamed, and consequently, I suppose, there were faults on both sides.

I hope soon to receive another letter from you & hear that England has agreed well with you & yr lady, and that notwithstanding you are soon to leave it & return home. I left my father a few days ago at ye Ridge hearty & in spirits. He & Mrs Darnall desired to be kindly remembered to you both; my wife joins me in sincere wishes for your & Mrs Carroll's health, & for yr speedy return to Annapolis, where yr arrival will give unfeigned joy to

yr etc.

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[2] Probably Daniel Dulany.

* It may, and probably will, be made so uneasy to him that he may wish to quit it.

To William Graves.

17th March 1772.

Dr Graves:

The receipt of your letter of ye 6th of last Novembr, which came to hand ye 5th instant, gave me greatest satisfaction by removing all doubts of your existence, (for to death among other causes I at times imputed your long silence) and by convincing me that you still retain some share of affection for your friend. What adds too to my joy is the having an opportunity now given me of renewing an agreeable correspondence with a person whom I really love & esteem. Of all the assigned causes for the interruption of our epistolary intercourse the unlucky incident which has given you so much trouble & employment was the last I ever should have guessed at. I remember perfectly well your shewy tenant Combes & his honest attorney Bambridge. That the extravagance of the one should reduce him to want was an event within the reach of common foresight, and that the principles of the other should lead him to undertake any dirty work is not surprising. But that so barefaced & improbable a trick should have occurred even to ye fertile imagination of Mr Bambridge, & be supported & encouraged by his advice is really surprising. What credit can be given to ye oath of a cheat, an extravagant spendthrift reduced to ye expedient of changing his name & of becoming a common soldier? The patronage of Mr Bambridge, in my opinion, more than all these circumstances, serves to invalidate Combes' oath. Altho' I am no stranger to ye dilatoriness of chancery proceedings, I hope you have by this got rid of yr tenant's suit. His coming hither or to some part of America in the capacity of one of His Majesty's passengers is not an improbable consequence of his extravagance & audacious folly. If so, it is a pity he should not be attended by his counsel, the good Mr Bambridge.

Yr brother, who you say has lately entered into the state of matrimony, is, I apprehend, the Capt with whom I was acquainted in London. He has my sincere wishes for conjugal felicity, and as our increase is at least a cement thereof, I hope

he will have issue, an event of which I am the more desirous as it will contribute to your as well as to his happiness.

I have one daughter alive, & M^rs Carroll will soon make an addition to her family. Your observation is very just that every man who has a large fortune ought to have wishes of descendants of his own body to inherit it. I may venture to say there never was a rich man but who wished sincerely for descendants of his own body—tho' the reflection that they might possibly not be of his own body has deterred many from using the means. When would that reflection strike more forcibly than now? The Cornelian family (to use Molière's expression) is become in point of numbers truly alarming: a bare catalogue of them would swell to a large in-folio. Each may indeed derive some consolation in having his misfortune common to many, & of being kept in countenance from y^e numbers and rank of his fellow-sufferers.

You promise to let me know in your next the price of a landscape such as I want by an eminent hand. As I wrote to you before, I do not chuse to exceed 20 guineas: indeed a landscape of an inferior price would be more suitable to my room, for you must know it is none of the handsomest, and the furniture in character, tho' decent & useful, is neither costly nor shewy. It has ever been a maxim with the owners of this mansion to be all of a piece. An attempt at grandeur with us or magnificnce is sure to be followed by something mean or ridiculous. Even in England, where the affluence of individuals will support a thousand follies, what evils arise from the vanity & profuse excesses of the rich — the Courtier's pliancy, the Patriot's zeal, the lubricity of women all owe their origin to the unbounded indulgence of imaginary wants.

Be pleased to add to the books I have already wrote for, & to such as you may think proper to send me, the following: Monsieur Mongault's translation in French of Cicero's letters to Atticus, Paris edition; Ross' remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles, the 4^th volume of Hooke's Roman History. I bought of Payne the 3 volumes in quarto which were published when I was in England, and to compleat the set I should be glad to

have the 4th. Pray in what estimation is the Modern Universal History? As it is composed by several hands, I imagine it must be an unequal work, yet perhaps in ye whole well worth having. I find it frequently quoted by Blackstone. By referring to my letter of ye 9th of last August you will see what books I requested you to send me which are still wanting to compleat my Vitruvius Britannicus.

My Lord Baltimore's [1] will is likely to prove an ample field for contention, and to yield a fine harvest in Westminster Hall. Perhaps a subject of more importance with respect to property never came before your courts: the decision of it will probably not rest entirely in legal principles. Political considerations will no doubt in some measure influence the determination, particulary if it should be made in the House of Lords. My father, who continues to enjoy his health, & spirits, desires to be remembered to you. A few days ago he left me to go to his favorite seat where he usually resides during the Spring, summer & fall, & in the improvement of which he amuses himself usefully and agreeably. He begun a year or two ago a vineyard, which I hope he will live to see thrive & perhaps bring to a tolerable degree of perfection. At least he has spared no pains or cost to deserve success. If we live a few years longer, you may depend on tasting the wine of its growth, & doubtless yr prejudices in favour of ye owner will make you fancy it excellent Burgundy, equal to the best wine of France. The vineyard is planted with several sorts of grapes,[2] that we may learn by experience which sorts are best suited to our climate.

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[1] Frederick, last of the Barons of Baltimore, who left the succession to his illegitimate son, Henry Harford. Carroll's prediction was correct.

[2] These grapes, according to a letter of Charles Carroll, Sr., were "Rhenish, Virginia grape, Claret and Burgundy." This attempt to produce a good table wine in Maryland, like many subsequent ones, seems to have been a failure.

To William Graves.

14 August 1772.

Dr Graves:

All the books mentioned in your letter of the 9th of last Feby are come to hand in good condition; several of them I have already read, & have met with much entertainment in their perusal. *Les Questions sur l'Encyclopédie* abound with wit and humour, interspersed with the most judicious & philosophical reflections. *L'Evangile du Jour* is the most direct attack on Christianity that has yet been published by its author—indeed it scarcely merits the appellation of a new publication, being merely a collection of his former detached pieces brought together into one view, placed in a new light, and animated with a bolder colouring.

I have not yet had leisure to read l'Abbé Chappe d'Auteroche's travels. The edition is magnificent indeed, and considering the beautiful engravings with which it is adorned, I think, cheap. If the inside corresponds with the out, it is well worth all the money you gave for it.

By sending me the 4th volume of Hooke's Roman History you have anticipated the request made in my letter of ye 7th of March, in that letter I also desired you to add to the catalogue of my books the following: Monsieur Mongault's French translation of Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Ross's Remarks on Cicero's familiar epistles.

The modern universal history, of which I asked your opinion in my letter above mentioned, I see you have bought. If you choose to part with that work, I will take it off your hands. Mr Holwell's account of the religion & manners of the Bracmans I find often quoted in Voltaire's last pieces; pray in what estimation is Mr Holwell's writing held in England? He must have acquired, if a man of any observation & curiosity, from thirty years' residence at Benares, a thorough knowledge of the Bracmans: the subject of his publication is certainly curious & instructive, & his account if well wrote must be entertaining. I should be glad to have it at all events.

Bolt's considerations of India affairs I suppose occasioned the late Act of Parliament for regulating the Courts of Justice in India, or the Mayor's Court at Calcutta; such an act has passed, and the public detestation in which our Nabobs are held, if news papers may be relied on, is a proof that their insolence & oppression in that part of the world called aloud for the interposition of Parliament; if the instances of injustice and oppression enumerated by Bolt be true, the authors ought to feel the weight of national justice. Perhaps as effectual a way as any to prevent the like oppressions for the future, would be to inflict an exemplary punishment on the present transgressors if on a strict & impartial inquiry they should be found guilty of the crimes laid to their charge.

It seems you are inclined to think the quantity & cost of the books sent may make me rejoice that your packets arrive only once in 3 years. This I am sure was only said in joke. Money cannot be laid out better, in my opinion than in the purchase of valuable books. You think like me in this respect, or why should you lay out yearly £30 in that article? You indeed say that upon reflection you always blame yourself for so doing, because you read less than ever and because your memory is less retentive: read more & your memory will grow stronger. You must blame yourself therefore for becoming indolent, not for purchasing books. Age, I mean your age, is the fittest season for reading; the judgment is then matured, a knowledge & a greater experience of the world enables a man of 40 or 50 to read with more benefit to himself than men under that age usually reap from books. It too frequently happens that men engaged in business and advancing in life, either from multiplicity of employments or from an indolence natural to years, neglect the fittest time for the improvement of their understandings; yet y^{e} passions of youth, its giddiness & dissipation are equal if not greater enemies to study. The memory & imagination may be, & I believe are generally weaker in men of y^{e} age of 40 than 20; strong memory & strong imagination even in young men are seldom to be met with united.

"Where beams of strong imagination play
The memory's soft traces melt away."—

and I am [inclined] to think the memory sooner fails than the imagination, particularly if suffered to grow rusty from want of use: it may be compared, when not exercised, to the Senate's decree ag^{t} Cataline — *tanquam gladium vaginâ reconditum*, which we know will contract rust if never drawn. Thus you see I draw an argument for your reading from the very reason you assign as an excuse for not reading.

For the future, when you send me any books of which I may have by me y^{e} volumes first published, pray let the others be bound; we have no book binder here; and let the books be lettered. Even tho' y^{e} binding should be different, yet y^{e} lettering will prevent confusion. When we can we ought certainly to preserve symmetry, which ought in its turn to be sacrificed to more important considerations, as convenience & strength, for instance.

I wait with impatience for Doc^{r} Hawkersworth's publication. I am sorry to hear that Messrs. Banke's & Solander's intended voyage to prosecute discoveries in y^{e} Southern hemisphere & Pole has been laid aside on a representation from the Spanish Ambassador, that such a voyage would give umbrage to his Court. Thus because his Catholick Majesty is jealous of y^{e} advantages that may be derived to y^{e} British nation from those discoveries, they must be laid aside! I know what answer I would make to the haughty Castilian were I the British minister, but as I am not, I may as well keep my answer to myself: for I am sure if it were known to the minister, he would make no other use of it than to laugh at the spirit & honesty of a private man.

I have not got L^{d} Clarendon's life nor the continuation of his history of the Rebellion in 3 vol. 8°—but I should be glad to have them; to tell the truth I did not know such a work was in being, & to tell another I have not yet read L^{d} Clarendon's history; it is a pleasure I have still to come. As to Bower's History of the Popes, I have always understood it to be a catch-

penny thing, wrote with great virulence & consequently abounding with falsehoods. I have as little veneration for bad Popes as Mr Bower or anyone else, but even bad ones should not be calumniated & misrepresented. Bower forgot Cicero's advice "ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat." He is not the only historian by whom that admirable maxim has been entirely disregarded.—You may send me, if you please, Ld Littleton's History of Henry the 2d; although it contains the transaction of a very distant & uninteresting period, it may be instructive & perhaps entertaining. Bartlett's Farriery you sent me before; however I am not sorry to have one by me; ye other being sent to Elkridge, where my father resides & where I keep my most valuable horses.

A landscape of ye size to fit the frame which forms part of my chimney would come, I imagine, to pretty near Mr Marlow's price, if drawn by an eminent hand. I shall get a painter of this town to fill up the vacancy left for a landscape with some rough drawing & conceit of his own, which will be more suitable to my room, than the more finished production of Mr Marlow.

By this, I suppose you have seen Sir Wm Hamilton's collection of Roman antiquities gathered from the ruins of Herculaneum. I dare say the locks and keys are clumsy compared to those of ye present age, but they have ye stamp of antiquity to recommend them, & may be useful in another light, to show what progress that nation so famous for its policy & arms, had made in the mechanick arts. I wish the publick may buy the collection; it is odds the money if not applied to this purpose will be lavished on something more insignificant or on some parasite, whore, or plunderer. His Majesty, no doubt as a connoisseur in these matters will recommend the purchase to Parliament, particularly if there should be any buttons amongst the other rarities, for I have heard his Majesty is a great adept at making buttons.

I am now the father not of many children but of two girls, (at least Mrs Carroll tells me so) and *Pater est quem nuptiae demonstrant.* Notwithstanding matrimony & the heat of the

climate, my poor little thin carcass keeps its own, & my spirits are kept up, as you have guessed, by a variety of employments, business, exercise & study, in short, I never allow myself time to be idle, or the spleen to prey upon me, and to this perpetual occupation I ascribe the nearly equal flow of spirits, which I cannot say is constitutional, being naturally rather of a melancholy & contemplative cast.

Most of my estates are surveyed; y^{e} custom of annual perambulations to perpetuate y^{e} boundaries has not reached America; & indeed I question whether such a custom, in this Province at least, would not bee attended with more bad than good consequences. It would however be of little advantage; our boundaries are perpetually fluctuating: this I know will seem strange, but y^{e} fact is really so—we are permitted to have but one fixed boundary at y^{e} beginning of each tract of land, from there we run such a course & so many perches & so on as many courses & distances as will include y^{e} quantity we choose to take up, always closing y^{e} survey with this expression, then with a straight line to the beginning; the needle by which all our courses are directed being subject to a continual variation, the courses must also vary, and there being but one given boundary, the exterior lines of our lands are constantly shifting.

My namesake (Carroll or Locke) had crossed the Atlantick long before it entered your head to make him undertake a 2^{d} voyage. Indeed I wonder how you could think of sending so awkward a booby from home to expose himself, family & friends to contempt, & ridicule; it is a matter of surprise how he ever got back to England, for some of his relations, on his first coming hither, ashamed of his appearance, confined him to a garret, where it was imagined he still remained neglected & forgot. It is high time to finish this long epistle; therefore without more to-do I assure you that I am

Your affectionate friend

C. C. C.

To William Graves.

7th September 1773.

Dr Graves:

All the ships expected from London this season are arrived & no letters from you. I need not tell you the disappointment is mortifying. You see, however, I am determined to force you to keep up a correspondence. A short letter once a year will satisfy me; am I unreasonable? What vast employments should hinder you from gratifying a friend's request, so easily complied with? Have you as yet worked yourself into an administration or into ye good graces of the Ministers? or are you one of those very uncommon personages who prefer an honest & patriotic conduct to the smiles of a court, or can contemn ye calumnies of a faction ever ready to be poured on a man whose steady principles will not suffer him to be the dupe of private aims? The British counsels seem to be greatly distracted & the Common People much oppressed; the late astonishing emigrations to North America are proof of their distress: the causes, at least the principal, cannot escape the notice of Government, tho' ye attention of its ministers may be too much engrossed by other matters to apply a remedy. The growing population of the Colonies, increased by such a considerable annual influx of newcomers, bids fair to render British America in a century or two the most populous and of course the most potent part of the world. I fancy many in England begin to entertain the same opinion, for I am informed that several noblemen & gentlemen have obtained grants of large tracts of land in the new Colony going to be settled on the Ohio: are you of ye number of patentees? 60 or 70 years (perhaps much sooner) those lands will be valuable. Hawkersworth has, I find, published his account or narrative of ye late voyages into ye South Sea undertaken by Commodore Byron, Captains Wallace & Cook. I beg you will send me those voyages, as likewise the voyage of Banks & Solander if published. The following list contains a few books I should be glad to have.

Milton's Works, prose & verse.
Lord Lyttleton's history of Henry y^e^ 2^d^.
Machiavelli's works in English, & his discourses on Livy.
Sir David Dalrymple's late publication.

I believe you are acquainted with y^e^ last named gentleman. Is he not the same who wrote a treatise on feudal law & tenures some years ago? His late publication, it is said, does little credit to y^e^ patriotism of Sidney & some others who were most instrumental in bringing about the Revolution. Pray let me know your sentiments of Sir David's performance. Has Voltaire printed anything new of late? You sent me in y^e^ Spring 1772 four volumes of his *Evangile du Jour*, & seven volumes of his *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.* I should be glad to receive his subsequent publications. I have desired Cap^t^ Kilty to wait on you with this letter, & to call on you some time before he sails for y^r^ answer & y^e^ books wrote for. Be pleased to send y^r^ acct. to M^r^ —— Johnson, who will be instructed to pay it. M^r^ Johnson lives somewhere in y^r^ city: you will learn of the bearer y^e^ particular street or court.

My father continues in good spirits: I enjoy a tolerable share of health. M^rs^ Carroll & her little girl (she has only one alive) are both well. I hope to hear that you enjoy y^r^ health, & that you are radically cured of that dangerous & painful disorder with which you were afflicted a year or two ago. That I may soon receive this pleasing intelligence is the hearty wish of

D^r^ Graves, y^r^ sincere friend & hum. Ser^t^
C. C. C.

M^o^ Wrote again to M^r^ Graves y^e^ 16^th^ October by Cap^t^ Hanrick to send y^e^ above books.

To William Graves.

15^th^ August 1774.

D^r^ Graves:

As I write so seldom be not alarmed at y^e^ enormous length of this letter: I have plenty of matter for a treatise in folio;

you must put up with a few pages: that they are not swelled to a volume is more owing to the dread of tiring you with the perusal, than myself with y^e^ writing of one. However, before I enter upon my main subject, I shall touch on such pages of your 2 letters of y^e^ 1^st^ & 7^th^ of last January as require an answer, and lest I should overlook anything material I have them before [me]. You desire I should say something of my family. It is with pleasure I inform you that my father still enjoys a good state of health—*meus sana in corpore sano*— & sound understanding. M^rs^ Carroll has brought me 3 daughters, of wh. only one is now living, a fine child about 3 years old & of sweet & lively temper. She is now big with a son & heir—at least so the old Gentleman wishes. I believe he will lose all patience should it turn to a girl. "Do I ever mean to cross y^e^ Atlantick?" No — unless I should be transported under y^e^ obsolete act of Henry y^e^ 8^th^ to be hanged in England for being a true American—but more of this bye and bye. The next paragraph draws a sigh. Poor Hussey — his death was timely. He did not outlive the glory of his country. We are but birds of passage—I might add, with more truth, of prey. Every now & then a hungry vulture would visit us, but now your own Island is so overstocked that whole flights come at once. I fear they will soon have carrion enough to feed on.

But vultures are not worse than horse-jockeys—so take care, if you value my friendship when you become a Minister, not to send us any of them, not even under the controul of y^e^ Honourable L. Gordon, for tho' his knowledge of their ways may fit him for y^e^ office, the experiment would be dangerous.

The packages as well as all the books arrived safe and in excellent order, being carefully packed: the very reason wh. induced you to buy the Modern Universal History led me to think of getting it—but as you do not seem to set any great value on that performance, I have altered my mind, unless it can be had at a bargain. I wish you had bought Farneworth's translation of Machiavel: y^e^ style of y^e^ one sent is so barbarous & uncouth that I can not read a single chapter without ennuye

generally followed by a comfortable slumber. I shall return you by Cap^{t} Hanrick or by Cap^{t} Kilty y^{e} 4th volume in duodecimo of Addison's posthumous works.

No doubt y^{e} vigour of y^{e} human mind is generally on y^{e} decline at 50, but men of good constitution & habituated to study & reflection from their youth frequently retain the full powers of memory at that age, owing to y^{e} constant exercise of that faculty, & even long after. Voltaire is a living example; I could cite others, but I will drop this subject to come to y^{r} criticism on Pope. He is my favourite Poet, therefore you must excuse me for endeavouring to defend him from y^{e} imputation of having wrote nonsense where he sings

> " Where beams of warm imagination play,
> " The memory's soft figures melt away."

The imagination and memory I take to be distinct faculties of the mind; frequently we meet with the latter in men who have not in y^{e} least degree y^{e} former. I have known myself several of very retentive memories, and of imagination as cold as the frozen sea, as sluggish as the canals of Holland. Their operation I also conceive to be different—the imagination acts instinctively; it seizes at once y^{e} sublimest parts of various types of nature, — hills, rocks, woods, precipices, waterfalls, rush upon the mind, as when united in one picture; we say, for instance, a warm, an ardent imagination. That act, a simple recollection or retracing of images or ideas or words, which is memory is a sober, cool, & still operation. Fancy has so little concern in it that y^{e} glowing blushes of that Goddess would disconcert y^{e} virgin modesty of Memory & put her out of countenance. I could say more on this subject, but I pass on to others of more consequence & not so metaphisical.

Well, I see, you want to make a convert of me, not out of religious zeal. But all modes of Religion being in y^{r} estimation indifferent to our Creator, I may as well embrace that which my countrymen have embraced. What if they have embraced an absurd one? Yes, certainly, because y^{e} one I have been brought up in is still more absurd. Granted, for argu-

ment's sake; What, then, do you advise me to quit a false religion & adopt one equally false, & this merely to humour the prejudices of fools, or to be on a footing with knaves? I have too much sincerity and too much pride to do either, even if my filial love did not restrain me — for I can truly say, *Nequeo lachrymas perferre parentis.* I am a warm friend to toleration; I execrate y^e^ intolerating spirit of y^e^ Church of Rome, and of other Churches, for she is not singular in that. Designing & selfish men invented religious tests to exclude from posts of profit & trust their weaker or more conscientious fellow-subjects, thus to secure to themselves all y^e^ emoluments of Government: Wharton's saying was a true as well as a witty one: The oaths to Government were so framed as to damn one part of y^e^ nation, & to shame the other.

If my countrymen judge me incapable of serving them in a public station for believing y^e^ moon to be made of green cheese, in this respect their conduct, if not wicked, is not less absurd than my belief, and I will serve them in a private capacity notwithstanding—nay, I have done it, as Eden or Dulany himself would acknowlege, could they forgive a man who had contributed to check their attacks on y^e^ constitution of his country.

Sir John Dalrymple's collection of original papers was the work I wanted. I was mistaken in attributing that performance to Sir David. What do you think of the old Patriots? Why did you not communicate to me y^r^ sentiments on so interesting a point? What was Sir John's motive for publishing those papers? Did he mean to expose the pretended Patriots of those days, or discredit all Patriotism by endeavouring to shew it never had a real existence? Sir John may perhaps be of y^e^ latter opinion, and if so, the present age will serve to confirm him in it. But even in these degenerate days the example of a Sir George Saville will confute the uncharitable creed; men void of principle are willing to bring all others on a level with themselves, and what they have not virtue to attain, or even to aspire at, they maliciously & falsely pretend not to be attainable by others. These reflections naturally lead me to my principal

subject wh. now engrosses the attention & fires with indignation y^e^ heart of every American—Are you then resolved to force us to become independent or to become abject slaves? If the present measures should be obstinately pursued, we have no alternative, and you would despise us justly, if we could hesitate a moment between slavery and freedom. To expose y^e^ injustice, the cruelty, the absurdity of y^e^ late Acts would be misspending my time and yours: all these are self-evident. Hear what America is doing and tremble at the consequences.

From Boston to Georgia inclusive the colonies are united and act as one man. Provincial committees constituted of deputies nominated by their respective counties have met in y^e^ capital city of each to collect y^e^ sense of y^e^ whole, being previously instructed in most instances by their constituents what sentiments to deliver at y^e^ meeting. It has been universally agreed that a Congress of deputies from y^e^ different Provincial committees should meet at some one Place, there to concert by the joint & united wisdom of all a well-digested plan for y^e^ Government of all the colonies. Phil^a^ is the place of meeting & y^e^ 5^th^ of next month the day appointed. It would be endless to relate the several resolves of y^e^ different committees, and I believe unnecessary, as I make no doubt they will find their way to England before this letter get thither. However I shall just give you y^e^ principle heads of the Virg^a^ resolves as the latest of all, by y^e^ complexion of which you may form a near judgment of what will be done by our great Amphitrionic Council. All importations from G. B. are to cease after y^e^ 1^st^ of next Nov^r^. If y^r^ Ministry should still continue to insult & oppress this devoted country all exports from Virg^a^ to G. B. will be stopped after the 5^th^ of next Aug.,—and depend on it, this resolve will be embraced by the Congress and carried into execution by American virtue. All persons whatever countervening these resolves will be deemed a public enemy, an abetter of British tyranny, a traitor to his country; all intercourse & connection with him will be strictly precluded,—in short, y^e^ emphatical sentence of y^e^ Roman people ag^t^ State criminals will not [only] be pronounced, but literally executed: aquâ et igne interdicatur.

This is nearly y^e^ substance of the Virg^a^ resolves: they have also drawn up instructions for y^e^ direction of their deputies in which, taking notice of Gage's proclamation for y^e^ suppression of associations declared by y^e^ General to be rebellious & treasonable, and previously observing that all treasons are defined by y^e^ Statute of Edw^d^ y^e^ 3^rd^, they go on to say (I give you their very words): [The quotation is omitted from the letter book] now on foot to relieve y^e^ poor of that besieged city; some vessels have already sailed with provisions, more are daily expected to sail; Boston is considered by every Colony as suffering in the common cause. Thus have a mistaken policy, an ill-grounded jealousy, or rather y^e^ insatiable avarice or worse ambition of corrupt ministers intent on spreading that corruption thro' America, by which they govern absolutely in G. B., brought the British empire to y^e^ brink of ruin, armed (y^e^ expression is not too strong) subject ag^t^ subject, the parent against y^e^ child, ready to add unnatural murders to y^e^ horrors of civil war. And do these men expect to escape the vengeance of an insulted, a spirited and powerful People?

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER BY ROGER B. TANEY.[1]

Washington, Dec^r^. 17. 1856

My Dear sir

My servant Maddison Franklin a free colored man was arrested today by two corporation officers, for coming in to the District—and remaining here more than five days—which they said was an offense against the laws of this corporation.[2] I be-

[1] The original of this astounding letter from the Chief Justice who did not know the laws (and especially those pertaining to such a widely discussed subject as negroes) of the town where he had lived for twenty years is in the Lincoln Historical Collection at the University of Chicago.

[2] Apparently the law which Taney or his servant broke is the following: "SEC. 3. *And be it enacted*, That from and after the passage of this act every free negro or mulatto, whether male or female, shall, within five days

came security for his appearance before Justice Hollingshead tomorrow at four oclock.

Maddison has been in my service many years. After the death of Mrs. Taney it was impossible to leave my two daughters who lived [with] me in Baltimore alone during the winter when I am obliged to be here—and determined to bring them with me, & to live at a boarding house while my official duties required me to be in Washington. I did so, last winter, bringing all my household servants with me—and spent the summer & part of the autumn at the Springs—still taking my servants with me. But finding that from my own infirm state of health, as well

after their arrival in this city, and on the tenth day of December thereafter annually, record his or her name, and the name or names of every member of his or her family, on the books of this Corporation, and at the same time pay into the treasury of said Corporation for himself, herself, and each and every member of his or her family so registered, the sum of fifty dollars, upon which registration and payment of the sum aforesaid, the Mayor is hereby authorized and directed to grant a permit of residence to such registered free nego or mulatto, which shall entitle him or her to a residence within said Corporation; and on failure to comply with each and every provision of this section, he, she, or they, so failing, shall forfeit and pay to this Corporation a sum not less than ten dollars, nor exceeding twenty dollars, and shall be ordered by the Mayor to depart forthwith from this city; and failing to depart therefrom, shall be subject to the conditions and penalties prescribed in the first section of this act: *Provided*, Nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to apply to or affect the condition of any free negro or mulatto who may come into the city in the service of any transient person or member of Congress, while in such employment, or who may have been sent to the city by his or her employer on temporary business." *Corporation laws of the city of Washington, to the End of the fiftieth council, (To June 3d, 1853, inclusive,) to which are added the laws enacted between that day, and October 10, 1853.* Revised and compiled by James W. Sheahan. . . . Prepared and published by order of the corporation of Washington. Washington: Printed by Robert A. Waters, 1853. P. 252-53. "An Act supplementary to and amendatory of an act supplementary to 'An act concerning Free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Slaves,' approved May the thirty-first, eighteen hundred and twenty-seven," Approved, Dec. 10, 1850. According to the 1827 law, negroes had to register within 30 days. *Ibid.*, p. 246 f.

The officer who made the arrest probably considered (not unjustly) Taney as no longer a transient since he had resided in Washington for approximately twenty years, and had taken a house, and that hence the *Proviso* did not apply to his servant.

as the delicate health of one of my daughters that we unavoidably suffered much discomfort in a boarding house, I endeavored to procure a ready furnished house for the winter. But after much search I was unable to procure a suitable one—and was finally obliged to take the one I am now in for a year—or to return again to board. Yet although I have taken the house for a year I have never intended or expected to remain in it, except in the winter when my official duties require me to be here. I have not taken it with any intention of becoming a resident—or of abandoning my residence in Maryland. I am staying here merely because my public duties compel me to be here—and have brought with me my household servants to be with me while I remain. And I have always regarded myself as a sojourner in Washington & my servants sojourning with me while public duties detain me.

I made this statement to the corporation officers who arrested Madison & told them that I was not acquainted with the laws of the corporation—but did not suppose that what I have done could have been made an offense by a law of the corporation—& that there must be same mistake in the matter. But that I knew you were the corporation Attorney, and that I should submit the case to you—and cheerfully abide by your decision whatever it might be.

I inclose the memorandum made by the officer for Madisons appearance tomorrow.

I am with great
respect & regard
Yr Obt. St:
R. B. Taney

J. M. Carlisle Esq. [James Mandeville Carlisle]

HISTORIC FORT WASHINGTON.

By Amy Cheney Clinton.

Will Fort Washington, on the historic Potomac, some day be a Government park, or will it continue to be used as an Army Post?

Fifteen miles south from Washington, just opposite Mount Vernon, and six miles below Alexandria, Virginia, at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, this beautiful promontory is an ideal site for either purpose.

Hundreds of visitors come to the post each year, among them foreigners and military attaches, for the ground where the fort stands today has an interesting history, aboriginal, revolutionary and secessional, that dates back to 1600.

Under an act of Congress passed May 29, 1930, amending the act of June 6, 1924, providing for a comprehensive development of the park and playground system of the National Capital and its environs, Forts Washington, Foote and Hunt were authorized to be turned over and administered as a part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway whenever their use was no longer deemed necessary for military purposes. Forts Foote and Hunt have already been transferred under the act, and are now under the jurisdiction of the office of National Capital Parks of the National Park Service.

The act of 1930 also provided that when the Mount Vernon Memorial Highway was completed it would be a part of the George Washington Memorial Parkway which is to extend from Fort Washington to Great Falls on the Maryland side of the river, and from Mount Vernon to Great Falls on the Virginia side. The National Capital Park and Planning Commission is authorized to acquire the land for the parkway. Due to lack of funds progress has been slow. However, the Commission has acquired, through the cooperation of property owners, more than 300 acres between Washington and

Great Falls, on the Maryland side. Arlington County and the State of Virginia have contributed to the acquisition of the river front between Memorial Bridge and Key Bridge where the National Park Service is now constructing a parkway road to connect with the Mount Vernon Highway.

In 1634, when Maryland was first settled, an Indian village known as Piscataway was situated on the fort site. It was the residence of Chief Kittamaqund. These Indians had been visited by Henry Fleet before the coming of the Maryland colonists. It is probable that it is the same village Captain John Smith gave the name of Pamacocock.

In his interesting article on the Piscataway Indians, in Vol. 30 of the Magazine of the Maryland Historical Society, which gives a very complete history of the tribe, William B. Marye says that the natives called Chief Kittamaqund the "tayac," and to the English he was always known as "Emperor." It was customary to style as kings all ordinary Indian chieftains. The Indian chief who ruled over kings had to have a more pompous title, so he was called "emperor."

Mr. Marye says further that the ruling powers of the Province of Maryland acknowledged the station and authority of three "emperors." The emperor of the Piscataways was the only one of them who lived and held sway on the Western Shore. The other two, the Emperor of Nanticoke and the Emperor of Assateague, lived on the Eastern Shore. Various Indian tribes acknowledged the supremacy of the Piscataway Emperor. They were the Mattawomans, the Chopticos, the Portobaccos, the Nanjemoys and the Anacostans.

The territory of the Piscataway Indians was thought to extend for 130 miles, that is, to the east, as far north as the territory of the Susquehannocks, or at least to the Patapsco River, and as far south as the Patuxent River. To the west their territory was bounded by the Potomac, though it extended along that river as far north as the present site of Washington and as far south as the Piscataway River.

In a paper on historic Fort Washington, read before the Co-

lumbia Historical Society, in 1903, James Dudley Morgan, M. D., states:

"The strategic advantage of the promontory on the Potomac which is now called Fort Washington, seems to have been known to the Indians long before the coming of the white man into this region. That these aborigines appreciated the natural advantages for defense and offense offered by this bluff at the junction of the Potomac River and Piscataway Creek, and that their judgment in the choice of the situation was both sound and unassailable for hostile defense was proved by the first Colonial settlers under Governor Calvert, by its choice as a point of fortification by Generals Washington and Knox, and by its improvements and enlargement under Presidents Madison and Monroe, and by its reaching later the distinction of flying the garrison flag."

Piscataway Manor was laid off as a reservation for the Piscataway Indians, and here was erected a stockaded fort in which they were supposed to be protected against the Susquehannocks, their enemies, who made inroads on them from the north.

The Piscataways played an especially important part in the life of the early Maryland colonists. A Jesuit mission was established at Piscataway in 1640, soon after the arrival of Lord Baltimore's colonists. Some of the early settlers lived among the Indians in order to acquire enough knowledge of their language to become interpreters and also to protect them against the Susquehannocks. The latter seem to have made things too uncomfortable for the priests, and they withdrew their mission to Port Tobacco.

It appears that about this time Virginia colonists became incensed at the depredations of the Susquehannock Indians, and also that they wished to gain possession of the Piscataway fort. The Susquehannocks, who had been troubled with an epidemic of smallpox and incursions of Northern Indians of the Six Nations, had taken refuge with their enemies at the fort.

Some years before this a treaty of peace had been made with the Susquehannock Indians at Spesutia Island, at the mouth of

the Susquehanna River, by the Governor and his council, one of the council being Colonel Nathaniel Utie. As a token of the permanence of this treaty they gave the chiefs of the tribe a medal on one side of which Lord Baltimore's head was shown in relief, and that of his wife on the opposite side. At the top was a small hole through which a yellow and black ribbon was inserted, so that the medal could be hung around the Indians' necks. The assurance was given them that if they were ever in trouble in Maryland this medal, a token of inviolable friendship, upon being displayed, would be a protection.

At the time of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, George Washington's grandfather, Colonel John Washington, and a company of Virginia men in quest of Susquehannock Indians, crossed the Potomac River to the Piscataway fort. Colonel Trueman, as a representative of Maryland, met them there. The Virginians taxed the Susquehannocks with " murders done on their side by them, but they made the same reply as to Major Trueman, that it was none of them. Then they made it appear that three of the Indians were they that did the murders."

Colonel Washington then demanded the surrender of the chiefs of the Susquehannock tribe. Obeying the command, the five chiefs stepped forth and presented the medal that had been given them as a token of everlasting peace.

An account of the incident, given in the *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. 2, May 20, 1676, says:

" Depont saw six Indians guarded with the Mary Landers & Virginians and the Major with the Virginia Officers Setting upon a Tree Some distance from them and after Some While they all Rose and came Towards the Indians and caused them to be bound, and after Some time they talked againe and the Virginia Officer would have knocked them on the head in the place presently and perticularly Collonell Washington Said what Should we keep them any longer let us knock them on the head we shall get the Forte today but the Depont Saith that the Major would not admit of it but was over swayed by the Virginia Officers and after further discourse the sd Indians were carryed forth from the place where they were bound and they knocked them on the head."

Colonel Trueman, the representative of Maryland, was tried before the Governor and the Council of Maryland, for allowing such a procedure to occur, and was condemned to death. He was later reprieved.

The medal which was given the Susquehannock Indians is in the Maryland Historical Society's collection of objects of historic value.

In 1634, Governor Leonard Calvert visited the Emperor of the Piscataway Indians before settling at St. Mary's. With two small English ships, the *Ark* and the *Dove*, he sailed up the Chesapeake to the Potomac, accompanied by a party of colonists who were exploring the Potomac, and who later became the first Marylanders. They penetrated as far up the river as St. Clement's Island (now called Blakistone Island), before disembarking.

Leaving most of his party here, Governor Calvert with a few chosen men (one of whom was Captain Henry Fleet who acted as interpreter), set out in two pinnaces to explore the river. They made several landings, one at a point near the present Colonial Beach.

Continuing their voyage of discovery, they came to what was then, and is yet, called Piscataway Creek, and here they found the surrounding heights covered with Indians to the number of five hundred.

Mr. Marye states that while Calvert made clear his desire to settle peaceably somewhere in the Emperor's territory, the chief listened quietly, and then answered in true diplomatic fashion:

"I will not bid you go, neither will I bid you stay. You may use your own discretion."

This hardly seemed a hearty welcome, and too, Calvert thought the town of Piscataway too far up the river. Thanking the chief, he turned back towards the mouth of the river, landing finally among the tribe of Yeocomicos, from whom he purchased land on which to found St. Mary's City.

Governor Nicholson, writing in the year 1697, concerning the

Indian population of Maryland, says that the Piscataway Indians gradually diminished in numbers. Smallpox was one of the causes of their decrease. Drinking was another cause. Other reasons for the melting away of the population were wars made upon the native people by neighboring Indians and by the Five Nations (Senecas—an old affair), and the wars and petty strifes with the English.

As they diminished in numbers the Piscataways and their allies became more and more accessible to the recurring attacks of the Northern Indians. In 1680 it was reported that the Piscataways, the Mattawomans and the Chopticos were no match for the Senecas and the Susquehannocks who had a muster of one thousand men to besiege them. About this time the Northern Indians boasted that they had "brought the Pascattaway heads to be as small as a finger, and will now see if they can make an end of them."

The attacks of the Susquehannocks were so fierce that the Piscataways sold their land at last to Lord Baltimore. Records show that William Calvert received a large grant of land from his uncle, Lord Baltimore, called Piscataway Manor, 2,400 acres of which he sold to Charles Egerton, Senior.

The Piscataways left their former abodes in the year 1697. Not many years later they were living under the government of Pennsylvania, and the land of their ancestors saw them no more.

The records of the State Land Office at Annapolis, Maryland, show that in 1717 the site where Fort Washington is now located was purchased from George Barbier, John Contee and Luke Gardiner by Charles Digges, a descendant of Edward Digges, Governor of Virginia from 1652 to 1668, and named Warburton Manor. Warburton Manor was bounded by Piscataway Creek, the Potomac River, and part of Swan Creek, and natural boundaries that made it twelve hundred acres, more or less.

Warburton was the home of George Digges, who married into the Carroll family. His widow built Green Hill on a portion of Chilham Castle Manor estate which took its name from that

of the ancestral home of the Digges family in Kent, England. William Dudley Digges, a son, married Eleanor, daughter of Daniel Carroll, of Duddington. In the Digges home at Green Hill, Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant found refuge in his last days.

Edward Digges, Governor, married Elizabeth Page, by whom he had thirteen children. The eldest, William, figured prominently in the official and military life of Virginia, and was active during Bacon's rebellion. He moved to Maryland in 1680, and patented extensive tracts of land in the Province. He married a Mrs. Wharton, a charming widow whose beautiful mother captivated Charles, the third Lord Baltimore. From this eldest line of the Digges family in America have descended many of Maryland's most distinguished sons and beautiful daughters. While the owner of estates in several counties, Colonel William Digges' name is associated with Warburton Manor.

Of the many Maryland families whose lineal descent from some of the most notable houses of Great Britain is positively proven by the records of England and internal evidence in Maryland, none is of more interest than that of the Digges family. This ancient name is notable for royal blood which flows in its veins from several reigning kings, including that of the great Conqueror himself.

The Digges family were very intimately associated with the Washington family. George Washington and George Digges were not only neighborly, but enjoyed a close friendship. Dr. Morgan states in his paper that there was much social visiting between Warburton and Mount Vernon, and their neighboring country seats. In addition to the hospitality extended during the hunting season, Washington Irving speaks of "water parties upon the Potomac in those palmy days when Mr. Digges would receive his guests in a barge rowed by six negroes dressed in uniform the distinguishing features of which were checked shirts and black velvet caps."

Washington spent his forty-third birthday at Warburton.

It was his custom in going to Bladensburg by Upper Marlborough, or to Annapolis, to ferry the Potomac from Mount Vernon to Warburton, and thus continue the journey. Often, when belated, or for social intercourse, he would stop and spend some time with George Digges. He kept a coach at Warburton for use on his journeys to Baltimore.

Dr. Joseph H. Toner speaks of the beautiful and unobstructed view from Mount Vernon to Warburton. It appears that General Washington and George Digges had a system of flag signaling. Standing on the knoll a little to the front of his home, General Washington would wave to his neighbors, and little boats with liveried men would pull out from the shores of the Potomac to transport him to Warburton, sometimes for the purpose of striking a trade of tobacco, corn or wheat, of cattle or sheep.

A letter from General Washington to Thomas Digges about an exchange of wheat, says:

"Genl. Washington presents his compliments to Mr. Digges and will with pleasure exchange 20 bushels of the early white wheat with him when he gets it out of the straw—which is not the case at present—nor can he until the latter end of next week or beginning of the week following, which would be full early for sowing that kind of wheat; indeed any time in September is in good season. The middle, better than sooner in that month.

"A good journey to Mr. Digges.

"Mt. Vernon, 31 Sept., 1799."

Before Fort Monroe, at Old Point Comfort, Hampton Roads, Virginia, was built for defense at the entrance to Chesapeake Bay, Fort Washington was the only protection to the City of Washington from invasion of an enemy by water. Now that Coast Defense rifles, in conjunction with controlled and contact lines can close the mouth of Chesapeake Bay against all hostile sea forces, its purpose has passed. Records show, however, that Fort Washington, which has seen so many vicissitudes and taken part in so many wars, invasions, sieges and insurrections, was never an adequate protection as a water battery.

With the establishment of the National Capital in the City of Washington, the necessity for its protection was recognized. General Washington realized the advantages of Warburton as a natural vantage point. Always keenly awake to any enterprise in connection with the interests of the young Republic, in 1785, accompanied by several friends among whom was Governor Johnson, of Maryland, he made a tour of investigation of the Upper Potomac in a canoe, long before the removal of the seat of government to Washington.

In 1794, General Washington wrote Secretary of War Knox as follows:

"The President of the United States, who is well acquainted with the River Potomac, conceived that a certain bluff of land on the Maryland side near Mr. Digges, a point formed by an eastern branch of the Potomac, would be a proper situation for a fortification to be erected."

In 1795, negotiations were entered into with Mr. George Digges for the purchase of part of Warburton, consisting of three acres, at the mouth of Piscataway Creek, and a further expense to the Government of small sums of money for intrenchments at that point. The fort was built as a water battery in 1800, under the name of Fort Warburton.

Edwin Melvin Williams, in a chapter on "Revolution and War of 1812," in "Washington Past and Present," states that in 1807 an incident occurred that aroused Washingtonians. The United States frigate Chesapeake on her way to the capes of Chesapeake Bay was stopped and searched by a British war vessel, and several American sailors wounded. Such a national insult so near the National Capital stirred martial spirit, and President Madison called for mobilization of American militia. The troops were not called into active service, as the need passed.

To further quote Mr. Williams:

"The spirit was further reflected by fortifying Fort Washington, on the Maryland side of the Potomac opposite Mount Vernon, in 1808. It was expected that this fort on Digges

Point properly fortified and supported by gunboats, would afford protection to Alexandria, Washington and Georgetown against the approach of any such naval force as reasonably could be expected. By the end of 1808, Fort Washington showed the bristling muzzles of thirteen guns on the side next to the Potomac, and six guns in a blockhouse of masonry, commanding the approach. One hundred and twenty artillerymen constituted the garrison."

Brigadier General James Wilkinson's Memoirs state:

"There was not within succouring distance of Washington any organized militia of the states, nor regular force except a few hundred raw recruits of the 37th and 38th regiments, the district militia partly unarmed and miserably formed, and the defense of the river depended on the sloop of war Adams, with a few small gunboats, and Fort Washington, a mere water battery of twelve or fifteen guns, bearing upon the channel in the ascent of the river, but useless the moment a vessel had passed. This work was seated at the foot of a steep acclivity, from the summit of which the garrison could have been driven out by musketry, but this height was protected by an octagonal Block house, built of brick, and of two stories altitude, which being calculated against musketry only, could have been knocked down by a twelve pounder."

Mr. Williams states that when war was declared in the summer of 1812, Washingtonians manifested a martial ardor that was comforting to the Madison administration. In New England partisan politics hindered the military plans of the National Government. Britain was concerned by the threat of Napoleon against its own supremacy, else the British operations in America might have been more serious than they proved to be.

In May, 1813, a British fleet under Admiral Warren and Rear Admiral Cockburn began to blockade Chesapeake and Delaware Bays. Cockburn ascended the Chesapeake and burned Havre de Grace and other towns. From Philadelphia to Richmond most citizens realized that the coast defenses were weak; and Major L'Enfant, at this time, made a report to the President on the inadequacy of these defenses. The National

Capital itself was in danger, though President Madison would not admit it.

According to Mr. Williams' account, Fort Washington which had been allowed to get into disrepair, was strengthened, and a detachment of militia kept vigilant watch from the hill where the Naval Observatory was built later.

In the year 1813, when the British invaded Washington, it seemed to the Secretary of War, on paper, that more than enough troops could be mustered at short notice to meet the invaders and repel them. In June additional companies were enrolled in the militia of the District, and a force numbering 400 was enlisted in the service of the Government. In addition, a squadron of cavalry, under Colonel Tayloe patrolled near the Washington Bridge.

The British fleet attacked Norfolk without success, but burned Hampton, after which they began the ascent of the Potomac. By the middle of July, 1813, they were within sixty miles of the Capital City.

By ten o'clock of the morning of the day when word of this was received at daylight, three thousand men were on their way to Fort Washington. This force consisted of District militia and all the regulars that were then in the Capital. Secretary of the Navy William Jones accompanied the U. S. frigate Adams and several gunboats from the Navy Yard. With the six hundred regular soldiers that were garrisoning Fort Washington was Secretary of War John Armstrong. The Secretary of State, James Monroe, went with cavalry patrols down the river. Many members of Congress also were to be found at the points of danger.

Realizing that it would be difficult to accomplish their plans at this time, after staying six days within sixty miles of Washington, the British admiral dropped down the river and resumed cruising in Chesapeake Bay.

With the departure of the enemy ships Washingtonians soon forgot their plans for defense.

In 1814, Napoleon abdicated, and the peace treaty was

signed. Britain, supreme at sea and possessing an army seasoned in warfare against the most brilliant strategist of that period, could now safely plan to use her legions of veterans against America.

First word of this determination reached Washington on May 9. Nevertheless, the War Department, if not the whole Government, gave little credence to the reports.

With eleven ships of war and several store ships and transports, General Ross left the river Garonne in France on June 2, 1814, and reached Bermuda on July 24. He sailed for the American coast on August 3, and reached the Patuxent River on the 19th, landing at that point without opposition. The plan was to attack the Capital by way of Upper Marlborough and Bladensburg, by landing at Benedict on the Patuxent River.

Cooperating with General Ross was Rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, whose aim was to destroy the American flotilla of Commodore Joshua Barney, who was resisting attacks in the Chesapeake. Admiral Cockburn had sent two smaller naval expeditions, one under Captain Gordon, up the Potomac, with the destruction of Fort Washington as its main objective, and the other up the Chesapeake above Baltimore.

When the British anchored off the Patuxent, General William H. Winder, who was in charge of land forces, had a paper strength of 15,000 militiamen, but actually under arms only about 842 men, the 36th and 38th Regular Infantry numbering 330 men under command of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, 250 militia under Major Kramer at Bladensburg, and the artillery garrisons at Forts Washington, McHenry, Severn and Madison, numbering in all only 262 men. General Winder strongly advocated the immediate mobilization and training of a citizen army, which, without instruction in military movements, could hardly be expected to seem much better than a mob by comparison with the veterans of the Napoleonic wars. General Armstrong, Secretary of War, thought differently. He did not reply to General Winder's letter urging action.

Cockburn and Ross, for the major operation against Wash-

ington, began the movement from Benedict on the 20th. Reaching Upper Marlborough on the 22nd, Cockburn found and destroyed Barney's flotilla a few miles from Pig Point, the American commodore having withdrawn his sailors and some guns after it had become apparent that the gunboats could not be saved. Barney and his men fell back in the direction of the Capital, and assisted in activities at the Battle of Bladensburg.

General Winder, with hastily gathered forces, made a determined defense against Wellington's veterans fresh from the scenes of victories in the Napoleonic wars under the leadership of General Ross, who had enjoyed a reputation second to none. Suddenly hurried from civil life into war, too much was expected of the militia on the field of Bladensburg. The battle here was well contested, numbering about 100 men under the command of General Walter Smith.

General Winder withdrew his whole force into the City of Washington across the Eastern Branch Bridge, and the British began their march of forty-five miles to the Capital. His report states:

"To preserve Smith's command from being pressed in front by fresh troops of the enemy who were coming on at the same time, while they were under the certainty of being assailed on both flanks and the rear by the enemy, who respectively gained on them, in which circumstances their destruction or surrender would have been inevitable, I sent (my horse being unable to move with the rapidity I wished) to General Smith to retreat. I am not acquainted with the relative position of the different corps composing his command, and cannot, therefore, determine who of them engaged the enemy, nor could I see how they acted, but when I arrived in succession at the different corps, which I did so soon as practicable, I do not recollect to have found any of them that were not in order, and retreating with as little confusion as could have been expected."

Much criticism was directed at the District of Columbia afterwards, but it is apparent from General Winder's report that the militiamen did not fall back from Bladensburg in panic.

General Ross and Admiral Cockburn entered the city about

dusk with some 700 men, for the purpose of burning public property. The toll of the torch that night included the Capital, the Congressional Library, which was then housed in the White House, War and Treasury Buildings, the Arsenal and Barracks. It is said that the reflection from the flames could be seen in Baltimore, forty miles off.

Henry Adams' *History of the United States* says that while Ross and Cockburn were engaged in their work of destruction the President, after riding over the battlefield until the action began, remarked to Monroe and Armstrong that "it would be now proper for us to retire in the rear, leaving the military movement to military men," which they did. A moment afterward the left of the line gave way, and the militia poured along the road leading westward toward the point which in later times became known as the Soldier's Home. The President retired with them, continuing to move slowly toward the city.

Continuing, Mr. Adams says that the President left Bladensburg battle-field toward five o'clock. He had already ridden in the early morning from the White House to the Navy Yard, and thence to Bladensburg, a distance of eight miles at the least. He had six miles to ride, on a very hot August day, over a road encumbered by fugitives. He was sixty-three years old, and had that day already been in the saddle since eight o'clock in the morning, probably without food.

Soon after three o'clock he reached the White House, where all was confusion and flight. He had agreed with his Cabinet in case of disaster to meet them at Frederick in Maryland fifty miles away, but he did not go toward Frederick. Before six o'clock he crossed the Potomac in a boat from the White House grounds, and started by carriage westward, apparently intending to join his wife and accompany her to his residence at Montpelier in Loudon County, on the south of the Potomac, Secretary Jones, Attorney-General Rush, and one or two other gentlemen accompanied him. In the midst of a troop of fugitives they travelled till dark, and went about ten miles, passing the night at a house a few miles above the lower falls.

The next morning, August 25, the President travelled about six miles and joined his wife at an inn on the same road, where he remained, subjected to no little discomfort and some insult from fugitives who thought themselves betrayed.

To again quote Dr. Morgan:

On the 25th of July, 1814, just a month before the battle of Bladensburg, the officer in charge of Fort Washington reported to General Winder the "defenseless situation" of the post, and at the suggestion of the general, the War Department consulted Major Charles Pierre L'Enfant, who in a written report told of the dilapidated condition of the fort and the armament, and urged a suitable appropriation for putting it in proper condition for the defense of the Potomac and the Federal City. He spoke of the necessity for an additional number of heavy guns at Fort Washington, and an additional fort in the neighborhood, and concluded:

"The whole original design is bad, and it is therefore impossible to make a perfect work of it by alterations."

After this report had been made the Common Council of the City of Alexandria sent a deputation to the President to apprise him of the defenseless state of the town, and the reply received was that their representations would be properly attended to, but that it was "impossible to extend protection to every assailable point of the country." Little or nothing was done toward the defense of the Capital itself. The corporation of Alexandria, however, appropriated fifteen hundred dollars out of the town funds to pay for mounting some cannon which were in the town, and which had been in the use of the militia while under the state government.

For two years the City of Washington had stood unprotected. Not a battery or a breastwork was to be found on the river bank except Fort Warburton. With all the facts before him Secretary of War Armstrong argued the utter improbability of a hostile force leaving its fleet and marching forty miles inland. As to the Potomac, its rocks and shoals and devious channels would prevent any stranger from ascending it.

Neither the Secretary of War nor President Madison saw the need of urgency, and only a "couple of hands" were ordered down to the fort to execute the necessary repairs. The ascent of the British in August, 1814, was an easy matter. Only one man was killed in the journey of eight or nine days or more upon the Potomac, and "this Briton was shot later down the Potomac raiding a chicken roost."

On the 15th of August, after news of the arrival of British land forces at Benedict, had been received, and the British Squadron, under Captain Gordon, of the "Seahorse," was known to be ascending the Potomac, General Winder addressed a letter to the Secretary of War in which he suggested that vessels be sunk in the Potomac at Fort Washington to obstruct navigation, and that the garrison be reenforced. It does not appear that any attention was paid to either suggestion. There is no doubt that had General Winder's warning been heeded the British would not have invaded Alexandria.

On the night of General Winder's retreat to the city, after the battle of Bladensburg, he sent directions to the officer, Captain Samuel T. Dyson, commanding Fort Washington, "in the event of his being taken by land by the enemy, to blow up the fort and retire across the river." Three days after receiving these directions Captain Dyson, becoming panicky at the approach of the British Squadron, called a council of war, and by their advice blew up the magazine and abandoned the fort without firing a shot at the British fleet. The garrison, it appears from the official report, did not then exceed sixty men.

With inadequate equipment, and without the support of his Government, it is difficult to see how Captain Dyson could have successfully repulsed the enemy. The fact was, however, that he acted without orders. It would seem almost as though he had been made the scapegoat. He was tried by court martial, found guilty of misbehavior in the presence of the enemy, and sentenced to dismissal.

An account of the destruction of Fort Washington is given in the report of Captain Gordon. This is dated August 27, 1814:

"Higher up the river on the opposite side Fort Washington appeared to our anxious eyes, and to our great satisfaction it was considered assailable. A little before sunset the squadron anchored just out of gunshot, the bomb vessels at once taking up their positions to cover the frigates in the projected attack at daylight next morning, and began throwing shells. The garrison to our great surprise, retreated from the fort and a short time afterward Fort Washington was blown up, which left the Capital of America and the populous town of Alexandria open to the squadron without the loss of a man. It was too late to ascertain whether this catastrophe was occasioned by one of our shells or whether it had been blown up by the garrison, but the opinion was in favor of the latter. Still we are at a loss to account for such an extraordinary step. The position was good, and its capture would have cost us at least fifty men and more had it been properly defended."

Captain Gordon, with the British Squadron, consisting of "seven-sail,' 'then passed Fort Warburton, and proceeded to Alexandria, which capitulated the next morning, and was compelled to furnish large supplies of merchandise, provisions and ships. Then, towing the captured ships, Captain Gordon proceeded down the Potomac. The winding course of the channel and the numerous kettle bottoms formed by beds of mud and oysters, made navigation and speed very slow, and on many occasions vessels were grounded on the frequent sand bars.

According to Scharf's *History of Maryland*, a large body of seamen had been ordered from Baltimore and placed under the command of Commodores Rodgers, Perry and Porter, and Captain Creighton, of the United States Navy. Commodore Rodgers, with three small fire-ships, under the protection of four barges, manned with about sixty seamen, attacked and annoyed the rear of the enemy's squadron.

Commodore Porter, assisted by Captain Creighton and other naval officers, with a detachment of sailors and marines, erected a battery at the White House on the west bank of the Potomac, for the purpose of destroying the enemy's ships on their passage down the river. He was also assisted by General Hungerford's brigade of Virginia militia, and Captain George W. Hum-

phrey's rifle company, General Young, Captain Gena's company of Infantry, Captain Grayson of the Marines, Captain Griffith of the Alexandria artillery. Commodore Perry, assisted by Lieutenant Reed, of the United States Navy, established a battery on the east side of the Potomac at Indian Head. In his official report he says:

"The field pieces (six pounders) under the direction of that excellent officer, Major Peter, of the Georgetown, and Capt. Burch, of the Washington volunteers, and Capt. Lewis, of Gen. Stuart's brigade, kept up a very spirited fire. These officers, together with Captains Stull and Davidson, and their brave men, behaved in the handsomest manner, and rendered all the assistance their limited means afforded.

"The ammunition of the 18-pounder and of several of the sixes being expended and the fire of the enemy from two frigates, two sloops-of-war, two bombs, one rocket ship, and several smaller vessels, being very heavy, it was thought advisable by General Stuart, Major Peter, and myself, to retire a short distance in the rear. This was done in good order, after sustaining their fire for more than an hour. General Stuart and Colonel Beall were much exposed during the whole time of the cannonading. It would be presumptuous in me to speak in commendation of these veterans. I cannot, however, avoid expressing admiration of their conduct."

The Porter's battery did considerable damage to the enemy, killing seven and wounding thirty-five men.

Only a few days elapsed after the departure of the British when Secretary of State Monroe, who was then also Acting Secretary of War (General Armstrong having resigned in disgrace), ordered Major L'Enfant, on September 8, 1814, to proceed to Fort Washington and reconstruct the fort. Major L'Enfant designed and superintended the construction of the fort, which was protected by a moat and drawbridge. Hand-shaped natural stone composed the walls. The work was begun in 1815 and completed in 1822.

After the second war with Great Britain, Fort Washington was allowed, as most all fortifications throughout the United States, to go to rack and ruin for want of proper care of its

armaments and intrenchments, until in 1850 it was a mere military post having one or two companies of artillery, and later only a detachment of ordnance corps.

In 1861, a detachment of Marines under Colonel John Harris, Commandant, took over the post, and later during the War between the States, Fort Washington became an important link in the chain of defenses that girdled the Capital.

From the end of the Civil War until about 1890, the post was occupied by small caretaking detachments. In 1891, work was begun on the modern fortifications now in use, and known as a seacoast battery.

During the Spanish-American War and the World War these fortifications were manned by troops of the Coast Artillery. Since 1921, the post has been an infantry garrison, and the heavy artillery guns and mortars have been moved to other defenses.

The present garrison of Fort Washington consists of the Third Battalion, Twelfth United States Infantry, a specially organized battalion used for ceremonies in the City of Washington, and for demonstrations in addition to performing its normal garrison duties at the fort.

The fort is a monument to Major L'Enfant. The entrance way, the original doors and part of the machinery for working the drawbridge are intact. A mound is all that remains of the Warburton Manor. The site of the original Digges Manor house is indicated by a marker containing historical data, which was unveiled September 20, 1932, located just north of the two brick houses on the officers' line. A portion of a fine old box hedge, planted about the year 1700, may still be seen in the rear of the first of these brick houses.

The fort is reached by continuing past the site of the manor house and the dismantled seacoast battery, which was built in 1891, to the end of the road.

From the parapet of the old fort, as one faces the river, can be seen in order from the right, the Washington Monument, at the end of the river; the tower of the Masonic Memorial in

Alexandria; Fort Hunt, one of the old river defenses of Washington, directly across the river; and Fort Humphreys.

Repair work is at present being done by a company of CCC workers under the direction of the National Capital Park and Planning Commission, which includes restoration of walls that have become split as the result of the growth of the roots of trees.

It is thought that one fortress in the vicinity of the Capital of the Nation should be selected for suitability of type and beauty of line, and restored to, and preserved in, precise conformity to the period of warfare of which it is a model.

THE PAPERS OF THE MARYLAND STATE COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

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At a meeting of the Maryland Historical Society on March 9th, 1885, John H. B. Latrobe, its President, read a paper entitled "Maryland in Liberia," based on a collection of documents in the custody of the Society. The Preface to the printed copy of Mr. Latrobe's paper (Fund-Publication, No. 21, Baltimore, 1885) set forth the history of these documents as follows: "When the Maryland State Colonization Society closed its active operations in 1863, Dr. James Hall, who had been its agent and business manager, and the editor of the *Maryland Colonization Journal*, arranged carefully all the books and papers of the Society and placed them in the custody of the Maryland Historical Society."

As a matter of fact, however, it was not until fourteen years after the date mentioned by Mr. Latrobe that the papers of the Maryland Colonization Society were delivered to the Historical Society. On October 9th, 1876, the Rev. Dr. E. A. Dalrymple read a letter from Dr. James Hall, expressing a wish to deposit

with the Historical Society the 'Archives of the Colonization Society,' and, upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to refer the matter to the President and the Librarian with power to act. Four months later, on February 12th, 1877, a letter from Dr. Hall to Mr. Latrobe was read, notifying Mr. Latrobe that Dr. Hall had sent to Mr. Gatchell, Assistant Librarian, an inventory of the 'Archives' sent to the Historical Society for safe-keeping. This inventory, dated January 22nd, 1877, listed 23 items "In Manuscript" and 12 items of "Printed Matter," and was accompanied by a letter thanking Mr. Gatchell "for the kind assistance afforded in arranging this matter of transfer and deposit of the Archives of one public institution to the custody of another."

Mr. Latrobe himself, in the Preface mentioned above, remarked that: "The material has not by any means been exhausted." Indeed, this should be regarded as a considerable understatement of the situation, for the papers of the Maryland State Colonization Society are so voluminous and cover so many phases of the work of the Society in both America and Liberia that it would be impossible to exhaust them in a number of essays similar to Mr. Latrobe's. Over fifty years have passed since Mr. Latrobe addressed the Historical Society, and no further attempts have been made to use the material gathered so carefully by Dr. Hall and deposited with the Historical Society. It might be of interest, therefore, to give some account of the large collection still reposing in the original cabinet and untouched for many years until February 1937. For purposes of convenience to students and others, the papers have been classified arbitrarily under certain headings according to their subject matter.

I. Minutes

A. *Records* of the meetings of the Board of Managers:

1. February 1831—December 1831.
2. (1) * March 1832—December 1834.

* The numbers in the parentheses indicate volume numbers as they appear on the books themselves. However, figures given in the notes refer

3. (2) January 1835—June 1838.
4. (3) June 1838—October 1851.
5. (4) February 1852—April 1864.
6. (5) November 1864—November 1902.

The *Records* provide a full history of the administration of the Maryland State Colonization Society and are an excellent source of information on the colony in Liberia. Volume I contains the organization records of the Colonization Society, and includes an interesting report by Dr. Ayres, agent of the group, on his trip to the various counties of the state to form branch societies. Volume 2 has a copy of the Ordinance for the government of Maryland in Liberia, showing the administrative set-up there; and has a copy of the deed for the land in Africa, giving the price paid in terms of muskets, kegs of powder, cloth, kettles, hats, beads, iron pots, looking glasses, knives, jugs, pitchers, bowls, fish hooks; scissors, etc. Volume 3 has the Third Annual Report of the Board of Managers, giving an interesting detailed account of the first settlement at Cape Palmas. It reflects the steps taken to raise funds, even to the extent that each member of the Board sold a certain number of Oratorio tickets for the benefit of the colonization project. Numerous other reports throw light on the early history of the movement and the colony. Volume 4 includes the Seventh Annual Report, which discusses fully the social and economic problems at Cape Palmas, as do all succeeding reports. A circular distributed among the people of Baltimore in 1841 seems to indicate that some colonization business was transacted at saloons. This book concludes with the Ordinance providing for the maintenance of 'Public Worship' in Liberia. Volume 5, like all the minute books, has a vast amount of correspondence relating to colonial affairs, reports, instructions, etc., not included in the regular letter books. There is also a copy of the articles of agreement between the Colonization Society and the

to the place of the volume cited in the whole series, because other types of material have no numbers of their own and it has seemed clearer to use a uniform method of citation.

people of Maryland in Liberia in 1854, when self-government became an actuality. The report of the Managers on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Society reviews past history and congratulates the members on the success of their efforts, rejoicing particularly that the territory at Cape Palmas was purchased without giving the natives "presents of Ardent Spirits." Volume 6 covers the period after the active work of the Society ceased, and shows the gradual decline of enthusiasm, the less frequent meetings, and the slow disintegration of the organization. The final records deal with the disposition of small sums in the treasury.

B. *Proceedings* of the Executive Committee:

1. March 1831—November 1833.
2. May 1832—May 1834.

The *Proceedings* are very brief and supply only the barest outline of what was done. Volume 1 includes some financial accounts. Volume 2 duplicates the record during 1833.

II. Correspondence Received

A. *Letter Books*:

1. 1827-33.
2. 1834.
3. 1835.
4. 1936 (January-July).
5. 1836 (August-December).
6. 1837 (January-June).
7. 1837 (July-December).
8. 1838 (January-June).
9. 1838 (July-December).
10. 1839.
11. 1840.
12. 1841.
13. 1842.
14. 1843.
15. 1844.

16. 1845.
17. 1846.
18. 1847-8-9.
19. 1850-1-2.
20. January 1853—May 1854.
21. May 1854—April 1855.
22. April 1855—September 1856.
23. October 1856—October 1857.
24. October 1857—December 1859.
25. January 1860—July 1863.
26. April 1863—September 1872.
27. September 1866—October 1869.
28. March 1870—June 1871.

The twenty-eight volumes of *Letter Books* are an exceedingly large and valuable collection of source materials. They include every letter received by the Colonization Society from home and abroad, filed in chronological order of writing. These letters deal with a vast array of subjects, and include countless communications from Liberia, official and personal. Correspondence from all parts of Maryland and from distant regions of the United States indicates the wide sweep of the Society's activities. The first nineteen volumes are bound uniformly in brown leather; the rest are pasted in the black files customary at the time, are less well preserved, and are more difficult to consult. The entire collection, except the first volume, is indexed either by date or by the name of the writer.

B. *Letter Books, Shipping:*

1. April 1857—March 1858.
2. March-November 1858.
3. October 1858—November 1859.
4. August 1859—May 1860.
5. May 1860—April 1861.
6. April 1861—May 1863.
7. May 1863—" onward to the end."

Extra. Bills of Lading, " Inclusive," 1856-60.

The *Letter Books, Shipping* are the only parts of the correspondence received which deal with a special subject and are set aside by themselves. The papers in them are shorter than those in the general letter files, they are all from American sources, and they deal entirely with business matters. They are pasted in the usual files, and are indexed by names. The Bills of Lading show the quantities and prices of goods shipped to Africa. They include an interesting array of receipts on the forms of many old firms: Adams Express Company, Cromwells New York and Baltimore Steamship Line, New York and Baltimore Transportation Line, American Express Company, Baltimore and Philadelphia Steamboat Company, Powhatan Steamboat Company, Merchants and Miners Transportation Company, United States Express Company, Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Harnden's Express, Harrisburg Transportation Line, etc.

C. *Foreign Letter Books:*

1. January 1834—March 1838.
2. March 1838—June 1843.

The *Foreign Letter Books* contain copies of letters received from Liberia, and consist chiefly of official reports. They discuss all the problems of the colonial settlement, and present this material in paragraphs headed by the subject titles of the matter related therein.

III. Correspondence Sent

A. *Letter Press Books:*

1. June 1854—May 1856.
2. May 1856—August 1859.
3. September 1859—June 1866.
4. October 1860—October 1861.

The *Letter Press Books* are impressions of a large number of letters sent out by the Colonization Society, many of them written by Dr. James Hall. Each volume has nearly five hundred pages, and most of the letters are very legible. They

are indexed under the names of the persons addressed. They touch on all phases of the Society's activities, but particularly interesting are the papers written at the time of the establishment of the Republic of Liberia in 1857. Volume 4 is concerned largely with Dr. Hall's letters written during his trip to Africa in 1860-61. The journey may be traced through its various stages: preparation, sea voyage, visit to Monrovia, trip down the coast with stops at Mesurado, off Bassa, at Cape Palmas, etc., at sea again, in the Chesapeake, and home. The latter portion of the book covers Dr. Hall's next trip to Londonderry in Ireland, Newport in England, and back again. Many of the letters in this volume are badly faded.

B. *Letter Press Books, Shipping:*

1. April 1857—November 1858.
2. December 1858—May 1860.
3. May 1860—January 1864.
4. (missing)
5. September 1866—April 1868.
6. April-December 1868.

The *Letter Press Books, Shipping* correspond among the letters sent to the *Letter Books, Shipping* among the letters received. Each volume contains nearly five hundred pages of correspondence dealing with goods sent to Africa, and the actual lists with prices are included in some cases. Volume 6, for instance, has on pages 404-07 an inventory of the ship 'Golconda,' listing all its equipment and supplies. A few other matters appear intermittently, and the entire collection reflects Dr. Hall's delightful charm of style. These letters, like those of the regular *Letter Press Books,* are indexed by the persons addressed.

C. *Corresponding Secretary's Books:*

1. October 1832—June 1834.
2. June 1834—July 1836.
3. July 1836—April 1840.

One of these volumes is labelled: "Letter Book, containing Copies of all Letters addressed by the Corresponding Secretary to different persons on business of the Society." This adequately reveals the nature of this class of the letter books. They include directions, suggestions, and reports on activities. Only Volume 1 is indexed.

D. *Latrobe Letter Books:*

1. November 1833—July 1836.
2. July 1836—November 1852.

These volumes contain a similar set of letters, all of them written by John H. B. Latrobe, who served as the Colonization Society's first Corresponding Secretary and became President in March 1837. Volume 1 consists largely of letters to Dr. Hall while the latter was Governor of Maryland in Liberia.

E. *State Managers' Book:*

1. April 1832—December 1862.

The *State Managers' Book* contains local correspondence, most of it written for the Board of Managers by Charles Howard, with the usual index. Noted almost at random is an interesting letter addressed in April 1832 to the President of Hayti, asking if there was a place for colored people in that island.

F. *Agents' Books:*

1. January 1834—October 1836.
2. November 1836—May 1844.
3. May 1844—October 1848.

The *Agents' Books* are copies of letters sent by the Rev. William McKenney, the Rev. Ira Easter, and Dr. James Hall while serving as agents of the Colonization Society. They show the activities of the Society in Maryland, particularly in regard to the colored people going to Africa. Included are the instructions to the captains of the ships taking the emigrants over the ocean and to the colonial officials in the settlement at Cape

Palmas. Volume 3 has in the front copies of letters from the mercantile house of J. R. Gordon and Company to its clients, April-December 1842, apparently not concerned at all with colonization affairs.

IV. Miscellaneous Letters and Minutes

A. Original letter, fifty-eight pages in length, from Robert Goodloe Harper to Charles B. Caldwell, Secretary of the American Colonization Society, giving ideas on colonization in Africa before the movement gained headway. This letter, dated at Baltimore, August 20th, 1817, is an extremely interesting document covering all phases of the subject and showing Harper very favorable to colonization.

B. Package of around sixty letters to the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, dealing chiefly with emigration to Africa during the year 1832.

C. Package of reports of the Board of Managers and various committees, all dated 1832.

D. Collection of around seventy-five letters from the Rev. William McKenney to numerous correspondents, 1834-35. These papers seem to be a peculiarly full and valuable source of information on all phases of colonization activities: emigrants, whites and blacks to serve as missionaries and teachers, the purchase of supplies, colonization itself, etc. A letter written January 24, 1934 to Senator H. T. Emory presents a keen analysis of the situation in Maryland at that time. Particularly interesting are two letters to John McDonough in New Orleans, dated February 12th, 1834 and March 10th, 1835, which sketch the first moves for colonization by the Maryland Society. The first was written on seeing notice of McDonough's application to the Louisiana Legislature for permission to educate his slaves; the second approves the plan heartily as giving the slaves the Gospel and the prospect of freedom in the land of their forefathers.

E. Report of the Executive Committee on Dr. James Hall's account, and other papers, 1836.

F. List of contributions to the Maryland State Colonization Society, 1836, unpublished in the official 'Journal.'

G. Package containing letters to the Board of Managers, and a large number of minutes and proceedings of the Board, 1837.

H. Annual report of the Home Agent, 1837.

I. Reports of travelling agents, etc., 1848-49.

V. Invoice Books

1. October 1833—Spring 1838.
2. March 1839—April 1860.

The *Invoice Books* give lists of all the goods sent to Liberia, with prices of the various articles and names of the vessels on which they were shipped. Among the items enumerated are: clothing, food, books, medicines, household supplies and furnishings, etc. The ships with the largest cargoes were the 'Ann' ($8,316.11), the 'Niobe' ($7,131.40), and the 'Liberia Packet' (Voyage A, $5,518.13; Voyage B, $5,615.69). The vessels with the smallest shipments were the 'Columbia' ($596.03), the 'Liberia Packet' (Voyage D, $1,303.35; Voyage H, $1,460.78), and the 'Trafalgar' ($1,470.89).

VI. Financial Records

The financial records of the Maryland State Colonization Society are amazingly complete from start to finish, and it is doubtful whether more material could be desired on this phase of the colonization problem.

A. *Day Books:*

1. (A) March 1831—December 1849.
2. (B) January 1850—November 1875.

The *Day Books* contain records of all financial transactions at the Colonization Office in Baltimore, receipts and payments entered in the order of their occurrence. Marginal numbers refer to pages in the *Journal* where the various items may be found.

B. *Journal:*

1. (A) March 1831—July 1875

The *Journal* gives the accounts of the Colonization Society in less detail than the *Day Books,* but the sums are identical. Marginal numbers refer to the pages in the *Ledger* where the accounts are listed individually.

C. *Ledger:*

1. (A) March 1831—December 1864.

The *Ledger* contains individual accounts, with the credit and debit columns balanced. Included are the expenses of the different expeditions to Liberia, the accounts of agents, and special funds, such as the public farm in the colony, the ' Cape Palmas Packet ' (a newspaper), and the like. Numbers refer to pages in the *Journal* whence the sums are extracted, and there is an index loose in the front.

D. *Balance Sheets:*

A package has in it balance sheets of the Maryland State Colonization Society for the years 1831-44 inclusive. They seem to indicate total expenditures of $189,940.43 for those first fourteen years of the Society's existence.

E. *Bank Books:*

1. May 1832—June 1840.
2. December 1836—October 1875.

The first bank book has a record of deposits in and withdrawals from the Union Bank of Maryland, balanced at the bottom of each page. At the end there is a list of subscribers to the ' Maryland Colonization Journal,' 1843-45. The second bank book covers a longer period of time, with three years' duplication. In the front are the accounts of Dr. George Keyser, General Agent, for 1835.

F. *Bills:*

Ten packages contain bills for debts owed by the Colonization Society from 1833 to 1864, inclusive. There are itemized lists

of supplies of all kinds, so that the collection provides a vast store of material on the economic history of the middle nineteenth century. The rise and fall of prices is only one phase which catches the eye more quickly than others. An example of the kind of thing found here is a list of medicines bought in October 1854 from J. Irwin Smith, druggist, 122 Pratt Street Wharf. Included are such familiar items as magnesia, calomel, gum arabic, iodine, black pepper, sugar of lead, bicarbonate of soda, ammonia, etc. The total bill is $95.49. Further insight into customs of the times may be gained from odds and ends like the monthly bills for postage, sent out by the Postmaster of Baltimore on regular printed forms.

G. *Check Book:*

1. December 1853—October 1875.

The *Check Book* has the stubs of 387 checks, with notations of the purposes for which drawn. Among the items listed are: office rent, salaries, travelling expenses, expeditions, medicines and foodstuffs for voyages, etc.

H. *Checks:*

There are five packages of cancelled checks, covering, with one brief period omitted, the entire history of the Colonization Society.

1. 1837-40 (nos. 1-330).
2. 1841-49 (nos. 331-463, 1-278).
3. 1850-55 (nos. 279-570, 1-116).
4. 1856-59 (nos. 117-354).
5. (missing).
6. 1872-75 (nos. 366-82).

I. *Notes:* three packages of cancelled drafts.

1. 1847-49.
2. 1855-61.
3. 1861-65.

J. *Managers' Accounts:*

1. Four packages containing vouchers for expenditures by the State Managers and some cancelled checks, 1832-33.

2. Accounts of the Rev. William McKenney with the State Managers, 1833-36.

3. Rough draft of the annual account of the Managers for the inspection of the Legislature, 1834.

4. Five packages of cancelled checks drawn by the State Managers, 1834-51.

5. Three packages of receipts to Managers of the State Fund, 1835-37.

K. *Travelling Agents' Books:*

1. May 1850—January 1856.
2. March 1856—August 1859.

The books were kept by the Rev. John Leys and the Rev. P. D. Lipscomb during their service as agents travelling through Maryland soliciting funds for the Colonization Society. Information given includes dates, names, residences, and the sums given or subscribed; there are many signatures.

L. *Contribution Book:*

1. October 1839—October 1845.

The *Contribution Book* lists contributors and subscribers by localities, with notations of the amounts given and paid. It includes subscriptions to the 'Cape Palmas Packet' during 1838-45.

M. *Account Books:*

1. Account book of Ira Easter, agent, 1831-37.
2. Individual accounts, 1833-39.
3. Accounts of the Colonization Society with the State of Maryland, balanced, 1833-51.
4. General account book, giving receipts and expenditures, 1835-42.

VII. Special Funds

A. *Colonial Accounts:*

1. Thirty-four semi-annual accounts of the colony in Liberia, 1837-52 inclusive, sent to the Maryland Society by Governor John B. Russworm and other officials. Each report contains detailed figures on the expenses involving all phases of colonial activity: contingent expenses, poor and sick fund, dash account, farm, fortification, medicine, emigrants, repairs, roads, store, mill, jail, ladies school, colony school, nurses home. There is here an immense amount of valuable data on life in Liberia up to the time of the establishment of the Republic.

2. Package containing semi-annual reports of the colonial agency at Cape Palmas, 1833-36, transmitted by Dr. James Hall, Agent.

3. Package containing semi-annual accounts of Dr. Oliver Holmes, Agent, 1836, with interesting inventories of the supplies on hand.

4. Package containing semi-annual accounts of Dr. Samuel McGill, Agent, 1853-54.

5. A similar package containing accounts of Joseph T. Gibson, Agent, 1854-60.

B. *Stevens Correspondence:*

Copies of letters sent and received regarding the fund donated by John Stevens of Easton, Maryland, for building a vessel to carry emigrants to Liberia. Included are accounts of the ship 'M. C. Stevens' for 1856-63.

C. *Hall School Fund:*

1. August 1875—January 1894.

Copies of letters sent concerning the use of the Maryland State Colonization Society funds left after the cessation of active work for the support of a school in Cape Palmas. The transcripts are prefaced by a statement of Dr. James Hall giving the history of the Society and of the School Fund.

2. March 1875—June 1893.

File of letters received, invoices for goods sent, and drafts for sums spent.

3. June 1875—January 1894.

Account book, not detailed.

D. *Maryland Colonization Journal:*

1. Individual accounts of subscribers, 1838-43, with alphabetical index (loose) giving places of residence and page numbers in record book.

2. Subscribers listed by localities, no dates; three successive compilations, including "exchanges." Lists in back all post offices in Maryland, with the postmasters and their "compensations." Inserted throughout are lists of the members of the Legislature in the form of clippings from the 'Baltimore Sun.'

3. Subscriptions for 1843-45, signatures and payments (see Bank Book 1, where this item is to be found).

VIII. Commissions and Reports

A. Commissions, 1832-36, from the State of Maryland to the Board of Managers for the removal of free people of color to Africa. Signed by Governors George Howard, James Thomas, and Thomas Veazey.

B. Package containing reports of the Board of Managers and committees, 1833-36, with a few letters about slaves to be sent to Liberia.

C. Printed copies of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Annual Reports of the Maryland State Colonization Society, 1835-43, in pamphlet form for distribution to members and the public.

D. Loose copies of the Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth, Thirteenth, January 1852, January 1856, and January 1858 Reports of the Board of Managers of the Colonization Society. There are duplicates in six instances.

E. Bound volume containing the Third to Eighth (inclusive) Annual Reports, 1835-40.

F. The Eleventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States, published in Washington, 1828.

G. The Forty-ninth Annual Report of the American Colonization Society, Washington, 1866.

IX. Censuses

A. *Census of free negroes in Maryland,* 1832, compiled by the sheriffs of the various counties in compliance with the legislative Act of 1831, passed as a result of fears aroused by Nat Turner's insurrection in Virginia. There are the original records for Allegany, Anne Arundel, Calvert, Caroline, Cecil, Charles, Dorchester, Frederick, Kent, Montgomery, Queen Anns, St. Mary's, Somerset, Talbot, and Washington Counties.

B. *Census records of Maryland in Liberia:*

1. Book with lists for 1837-43, dividing citizens according to sexes and ages, and giving occupations.
2. Loose copies of census figures for 1837 and 1843, duplicated in the book.
3. Register of births, deaths, and marriages for 1842.
4. Report of military strength, 1844.
5. Lists of ship arrivals, scholars, imports, exports, births, deaths, and marriages during 1845.
6. Census figures for 1848, with statistics of acres cultivated and the different kinds of trees on them.
7. Census figures for 1849 and 1852.

X. Manumissions and Emigrants

A. *Manumission Books, Lists:*

1. 1832-55 (nos. 1-4757).
2. 1854-60 (nos. 4758-5571).

The lists of persons manumitted include the name, age, by

whom manumitted, how (deed, will, or sale), the date, the county, when freedom is to commence, and (rarely) remarks.

B. *Manumission Books, Copies:*

1. 1832-37.
2. 1837-58.
3. 1858-60.

The copies of the manumissions are taken from the original documents sent in by the county officials, and they are numbered to correspond with the names in the lists. Volume 1 contains at the end a list of 533 emigrants during 1832-38, giving age, by whom manumitted, county of record, occupation, destination, how sent, when sent, and the amounts paid.

C. *Manumissions:*

Twenty-nine packages of certified copies of deeds of manumission, wills, and bills of sale, 1832-60, sent to the Colonization Society by county clerks and registers of wills. These papers are numbered to agree with the lists, but give much fuller information; they are the documents copied into the books just described.

D. *Record of Emigrants:*

A volume containing a list of the colored people sent out to Africa by the Maryland colonization group from 1831 to 1862, giving ship, date, name, age, county of origin, and occasional remarks.

E. *Charter Parties:*

One package of charters for vessels to take negroes to Liberia during 1835-37, supplying full data about the ships and their use for colonization purposes.

XI. Liberian Colonization

A. *Land Deeds:*

1. A book containing copies of eleven deeds made between

1834 and 1849 by native chieftains, with confirmations by the headmen of the various districts concerned.

2. A package containing the original deeds, plus one other marked "Null." The treaties give "considerations" paid for the land in the form of mutual defence, advantages from the trading posts, schools, "General Benefit," and presents or 'dashes.'

B. *Travels:*

1. A package of journals or diaries of sundry tours in Liberia during 1844-45, including two made by Governor Russworm.

2. The journal of Messrs. Stewart and Banks' journey to the Pah Country in 1845, filling twenty-nine pages and accompanied by a chart of the terrain traversed.

Both sets of journals are extremely interesting reports on the country and the people, with accounts of numerous colorful incidents.

C. *Miscellaneous Affairs:*

1. A package of documents relating to the trial of James Thomson in 1837, with the original of Thomson's own statement. He was accused of adultery with native girls while connected with the Episcopal mission, and confessed, but was acquitted for lack of evidence.

2. The correspondence between Governor Russworm, Captain Ramsey of the U. S. S. 'Vandalia,' and others relative to the case of the Rev. Mr. Griswold and robberies committed by the natives.

XII. Newspapers.

A. *Maryland Colonization Journal:*

1. May 1835 (I, 1)—May 1841 (I, 51).
2. June 1841 (n. s. I, 1)—May 1861 (n. s. X, 24).

This paper was published in Baltimore by the Maryland State Colonization Society. The copies listed above are bound in volumes, and there are a number of duplicates.

B. *The African Repository and Colonial Journal:*

1. January 1st, 1841 (XVII, 1)—December 1842 (XVIII, 14).

The American Colonization Society issued this paper from its headquarters in Washington. The change from semi-monthly to monthly status was made with the issue of March 1842.

C. *The Colonization Herald and General Register:*

1. April 12th 1843 (n. s. II, 1)—December 1858 (n. s. # 102).

This journal was the official organ of the Pennsylvania Colonization Society, and changed from a semi-monthly to a monthly in 1843. The numbering system was shifted more than once, so that it is rather difficult to follow without careful observation. There are six or eight copies missing in the collection.

D. *New-York Colonization Journal:*

1. December 1850 (I, 1)—December 1858 (VIII, 12).

The Rev. J. B. Pinney edited this paper for the New York State Colonization Society, and it appeared monthly throughout its existence. One copy seems to be missing from the file in the archives of the Maryland colonization group.

E. *Liberia Herald:*

1. February 1842 (XI, 4)—February 18th, 1857 (n. s. VII, 4).

This interesting paper was published in Monrovia itself by Hilary Teage, editor and proprietor. Originally a monthly, it shifted to semi-monthly status in 1845. It has value as an eye-witness reporter of events in Liberia during the fifteen years preceding independence and as a reflection of colonial opinion on the happenings of that period. A number of copies are lacking, and after 1851 the gaps are more frequent and quite noticeable.

XIII. Colonization Pamphlets

A bound volume with this title includes twenty-eight original pamphlets dealing with Liberia and colonization affairs. They are:

1. The Declaration of Rights, and the Constitution of the State of Maryland in Liberia. (The Declaration is printed on blue paper, the Constitution on white.)

2. The Duty of a Rising Christian State to Contribute to the World's Well-Being and Civilization, and the Means by which it may Perform the Same. The Annual Oration Before the Council and the Citizens of Monrovia, Liberia, July 26, 1855. By the Rev. Alexander Crumwell, B. A., Queen's College, Cambridge. London, 1856.

3. Four Months in Liberia: or African Colonization Exposed. By William Nesbit, of Hollidaysburg. Pittsburgh, 1855.

4. Four Years in Liberia. A Sketch of the Life of the Rev. Samuel Williams. With Remarks on the Missions, Manners and Customs of the Natives of Western Africa. Together with an Answer to Nesbit's Book. Philadelphia, 1857.

5. Liberian Colonization: or Reasons Why the Free Colored People should Remove to Liberia. By an Abolitionist and Colonizationist. New York, 1857.

6. The Report of the Committee of Adjudication, of the National Fair, of the Republic of Liberia; Held in the City of Monrovia, December 14-21, A. D. 1857. Monrovia, 1858.

7. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia to the Legislature, at the Commencement of their Session December 1858. Monrovia, 1858.

8. Acts of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia Passed During the Session Commencing in December 1857. Monrovia, 1858.

9. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia, Communicating Matters and Things in Reference to the French System of Emigration on the Liberian Coast. January 6, 1859. Monrovia, 1859.

10. Message of the President of the Republic of Liberia; to the Legislature, at the Commencement of their Session December 9th, 1859. Monrovia, 1859.

11. Injunction Case. Court of Quarter Session and Common Pleas, March Term, 1858; His Hon: Judge Moore, Presiding. Extraordinary Judicial Proceedings!! and Remarkable Decision!! Monrovia, 1858.

12. Fourth Annual Message of Stephen A. Benson, President of Liberia. Delivered to the Legislature, December 1858. (From the New-York Colonization Journal. April 1859.)

13. A Voice from Bleeding Africa, on behalf of her Exiled Children. By Edward W. Blyden. Liberia, 1856.

14. A Vindication of the African Race; Being a Brief Examination of the Arguments in Favor of African Inferiority. By Edward W. Blyden. Monrovia, 1857.

15. Liberia Described. A Discourse Embracing a Description of the Climate, Soil, Productions, Animals, Missionary Work, Improvements, &c. with a Full Description of the Acclimating Fever. By Armistead Miller, a Citizen of Monrovia, Liberia. Philadelphia, 1859.

16. African Colonization. (Letter from Alexander M. Cowan, Agent of the Kentucky State Colonization Society, to John H. B. Latrobe, October 6, 1855.)

17. Inquiry into the Causes which have Retarded the Accumulation of Wealth and Increase of Population in the Southern States: in which the Question of Slavery is Considered in a Politico-Economical Point of View. By a Carolinian. Washington, 1846.

18. The Foreign Slave-Trade. Can it be Revised Without Violating the Most Sacred Principles of Honor, Humanity, and Religion. By Rev. J. Leighton Wilson, D. D. (From the Southern Presbyterian Review. October, 1859.)

19. The Duty of the Christian Church in Relation to African Missions. By J. Leighton Wilson. New York, 1858.

20. An Address to the Free People of Color of the State of Maryland. (By Dr. James Hall, Baltimore, December 1858.)

21. The Regina Coeli. Correspondence between the Hon. James H. Hammond and John H. B. Latrobe, Esq. Baltimore, 1858.

22. Colonization. A Notice of Victor Hugo's Views of Slavery in the United States, in a Letter from John H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, to Thomas Suffern, of New York. Baltimore, 1851.

23. Cotton Cultivation in Africa. Suggestions on the Importance of the Cultivation of Cotton in Africa, in Reference to the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, Through the Organization of an African Colonization Society. By Benjamin Coates. Philadelphia, 1858.

24. The Appeal of the Religious Society of Friends in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Etc., to their Fellow-Citizens of the United States on Behalf of the Coloured Races. (By Benjamin Coates.) Philadelphia, 1858.

25. Sketches of Liberia: Comprising a Brief Account of the Geography, Climate, Productions, and Diseases of the Republic of Liberia. Second Edition, Revised. By J. W. Lugenbeel, Late Colonial Physician and United States Agent in Liberia. Washington, 1853.

26. Western Africa, a Mission Field; or, The Moral and Physical Condition of Western Africa, considered with Reference to the Founding of Mission Settlements of Colored People. By Rev. Morris Officer, Missionary to Western Africa. Pittsburgh, 1856.

27. African Colonization Unveiled. By Edmund Ruffin, of Virginia. (Washington, n. d.)

28. The Virginian History of African Colonization. By Rev. P. Slaughter. Richmond, 1855. (xx, 116 pages.)

XIV. Miscellaneous Pamphlets

A collection of loose pamphlets dealing with a variety of different subjects. Chronologically arranged, they are:

1. Constitution of the Young Men's Colonization Society, with an Abstract of the Proceedings of the Meeting at Which

it was Adopted. Held at Clinton Hall, on the 15th March, 1832. New York, 1832.

2. Addresses Delivered at the Sixth Anniversary Meeting of the Maryland State Colonization Society, Held at Annapolis, February 2, 1838. Baltimore, 1838.

3. Communication from the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, to the President and Members of the Convention Now Assembled in Baltimore, in Reference to the Subject of Colonization. Baltimore, 1841.

4. Liberia Described . . . By Armistead Miller. (See number 15 of the *Colonization Pamphlets.*)

5. African Colonization—Its Principles and Aims. An Address Delivered by John H. B. Latrobe, at the Anniversary Meeting of the American Colonization Society held in the Smithsonian Institute, Washington City, January 18, 1859. Baltimore, 1859. (2 copies.)

6. A Prize Essay on Political Economy, as adapted to the Republic of Liberia. By the Rev. J. S. Payne. Monrovia, 1860.

7. Memorial of the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, Celebrated at Washington, January 15, 1867. With Documents Concerning Liberia. Washington, 1867.

8. The African Missionary, XVI, 12 (December 1872). (Published by the American Missionary Association, New York.)

9. Order of Exercises of the Exhibition of the Monrovia Sabbath School of the M. E. Church on the Afternoon and Evening of Tuesday, January 13th, 1874.

XV. Books

1. An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa: with a Brief History of the African Company. By Henry Meredith, Esq. Member of the Council, and Governor of Winnebah Fort. London, 1812.

2. The Travels of Ali Bey, in Morocco, Tripoli, Cyprus,

Egypt, Arabia, Syria, and Turkey, between the Years 1803 and 1807. Written by Himself. Volume 2. Philadelphia, 1816.

3. Constitution and Laws of Maryland in Liberia; with an Appendix of Precedents. Published by Authority of the Maryland State Colonization Society. Baltimore, 1837. (3 copies.)

4. A Plea for Africa, being Familiar Conversations on the Subject of Slavery and Colonization. By F. Freeman. Philadelphia, 1837.

5. Report of Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, from the Committee on Commerce of the House of Representatives of the United States, on the Memorial of the Friends of African Colonization. . . . House of Representatives, Report no. 283, 27th Congress, 3rd session. Washington, 1843.

6. Tables Showing the Number of Emigrants and Recaptured Africans sent to the Colony of Liberia by the Government of the United States; . . . Together with a Census of the Colony, and a Report of its Commerce, September 1843. Washington, 1845.

7. A History of Colonization on the West Coast of Africa. By Archibald Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia, 1846.

8. Constitution and Laws of Maryland in Liberia; with an Appendix of Antecedents. 2nd edition. Baltimore, 1847. (2 copies.)

9. Proceedings Against William Lloyd Garrison, for a Libel. Baltimore, 1847. (Francis Todd of Newburyport, Mass., was complainant.)

10. Africa's Redemption the Salvation of our Country. By Rev. F. Freeman. New York, 1852.

11. Slavery and Anti-Slavery; a History of the Great Struggle in Both Hemispheres; with a View of the Slavery Question in the United States. By William Goodell. New York, 1852.

12. The Statute Laws of the Republic of Liberia, Carefully Compiled from the Laws of the Commonwealth, and Laws of the Republic; . . . Published by Authority. Monrovia, 1856.

13. Liberia, as I Found it, in 1858. By Rev. Alexander

M. Cowan, Agent Kentucky Colonization Society. Frankfort, 1858. (2 copies, one in paper cover.)

14. Grebo Kona Ah Te: or, History of the Greboes. By Right Rev. John Payne, D. D. New York, 1860. (In the native language.)

15. Liberia's Offering: being Addresses, Sermons, etc. By Rev. Edward W. Blyden. New York, 1862.

16. The Future of Africa: being Addresses, Sermons, etc., etc., Delivered in the Republic of Liberia. By Rev. Alexander Crummell, B. A., Queen's College, Cambridge. New York, 1862.

17. Narrative of a Journey to Musardu, the Capital of the Western Mandingoes. By Benjamin Anderson. New York, 1870.

LETTERS OF JAMES RUMSEY.

Edited by James A. Padgett, Ph. D.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 2, page 155.)

To Capt. Charles Morrow

Paris March 27th 1789.

Dear Charles,[87]

I suppose you will be Surprised from the date of my last letter when I tell you that I have been in Paris two weeks and that its distance from london is upwards of 300 miles, the letters addresses to my friend West that will accomp this will give you Some information of my Jurney &c &c.—It is now about three oclock and Considering the difference of Longetude makes it about ten oclock with you and precisely one yeare my friend Since I shook you by the hand and left your Hospitable Cottage with a heart over flowing with love and gratitude [ ] the inhabitants thereof, the partings, and tak[ ] of that

[87] Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

day Charles Caused my philosophy & fortitude To totter and I believe nothing Short of Desperate Circumstances Such as mine then was, Could have Enabled me to persue the precarious undertaking I had Sat out upon, and leave the once peacefull Shades of Berkeley; you Can have no Idea my friend of the Various Scenes of anxety, and Care, that I have went through, attended with the agitations—both of body and mind that hope, fear, Success, and disappointment merits in general occations yet no retreat, Except that of poverty and Contempt through a winderness of want was left for me to attempt and therefore a desporate persuit became necessary, *Conquer or fall* was my motto! These principles has led me in haste to this great City where one of the holy order, an abby, was makeing head against me, and was incroaching fast upon the great prospects that this kingdom held out to my Views, but (frenchman like full of politeness,) as Soon as I arrived, he took his departure for another world, from where no traveller are yet returned. The road now being Clear I have reason to believe a grant will Soon be obtained in my favor.—I have been frequently at M^{r} Jeffersons, our american Embasedor, he has got all that Ease, affiibelity, and goodness, about him that distinguishes him as a good, as well as a great man, he has taken much pains Indeed to Serve me, yesterday Evening by his appointment I met A Moseiuer Leroy. (a leading member of the Royal accadime of arts and Sciences to Explain the nature of my business to him, that he might state it to the Accadimy, he was much pleased with my plans and Informed me that Doct^{r} Franklin had wrote to him Several times respecting me Since I have been in Europe on the hole he was Very Clever understood the busness & Spoke English well, but you will pity me when I tell you the necessary preporation to wait on Such Characters, or in Short on any jenteel person (if in the afternoon) I was obliged to be dressed in a black Coat- wescoat, breeches & Stockings, my hair handsomly dressed and powdered, and the hind part in a large black bag; by my Side a Sword; my hat in my hand; and (hard at my——) a lusty french Servant, brought up the rear; in this

order (to use my sister Marys Expression) I went Tackleing along; you may perhaps think I am jokeing when giveing this discription of what is necessary to pay a french Visit, but be ashored it is true; amd that it is as Common for genteel people to walk the Streets with their hat under their arms as it is in our Country to have them on our heads In Short many of their hats are nothing more than a three Square flat thing on purpose to be Conveniant to Carry and are never put on at all; I had like to have forgot the muffs for the hands, which In truth are often as big as a half barrel; and are generally worn, by both men, and women; you will naturally Conceive the appearance! These are things Charles, that at first, I had no idea was a necessary Conection of a Steam boat; after ashoreing you, and my Sister, that you Ever have my Sincere Wishes for your well fares, and happeness, & requesting you to remember me in the most Efectionate manner to my relatives & friends, I must bid you farewell—

J. Rumsey

Cap^{t} Charles Morrow.
Shepherdstown Virginia
March 27, 89 N^{o}9

To Thomas Jefferson [88]

M^{r} Rumsey has the honor of returning M^{r} Jefferson his most Sincere thanks for the friendship and attention he has received from him, M^{r} Rumsey has taken the liberty to direct that if a letter Should Come to the hotel where he lodged for him, That it be forwarded through M^{r} Barlow [89] to M^{r} Jefferson So that Should a letter Come from the Minister M^{r} Jefferson will receive it, and will much oblige M^{r} Rumsey if he will open it and take Such measures on the Contents thereof as M^{r} Jefferson thinks proper. M^{r} Rumsey is Exceeding uneasy that his

[88] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
[89] See note 84.

Sudden departure prevented him from giving timely notice to Mr Jefferson, that he might have had the pleasure of Carying his letters to England.

Thursday Morning
April 9th 1789

Mr Jefferson.
The Honorable
Thomas Jefferson Esqr

To Capt. Charles Morrow

London april 12th 1789

Dear Charles,[90]

I arived here Last Evening about nine Oclock from paris which place I left on the 9th in the morning at 7 oclock, their is Expediteous traveling in Europe but the Expense Intolerable before I left paris my business was in Such a train that there is but little doubt but I shall Soon obtain a grant in that Country for my Inventions Mr Jefferson attends to the business for me in my absence, he has treated me With the greatest possible Civility. I dined at his house the day before I Came away when he made me a present of a book and a pair of new invented tooth drawers the two worth 7 dollars at least, there was at his house that day agreat number of nobility with their Stars & garters, and their Countesses and ladyships, the reason that the number of them was remarkable on that day was on account of a yearly procession of all the Carrages in paris, parading on a long feild a few miles from the City these Carrages had to pass his house, the procession began at two oclock and lasted to about 7 forming two lines reaching from the City to the feild and back again besides the field full, the Company in them was dressed (and their horses and Servants decorated) in the most Superb mannor that human folly Could Suggeest. I need Say

[90] Rumsey Collection, Library of Congress.

nothing about our return to London as it was by the Same rout we went to Paris Except that We ware Stoped and robed on the famous black heath Common by three foot pads I was in a post Chase, with a Mr Parker [91] whom I have before mentioned, I had a pre Sentiment that Such a thing might happen and therefore hid all my money Except about one & a half guineas my watch I kept in my hand and the moment the rains of the horses was Seized and the pistol presented to the postelian I threw her in the bottom of the Carriage among Some Straw, the doors was Soon opened and a postol presented at each of our heads! We delivered what was in our pockets, which by no means Satisfied them, Mr Parker haveing used the Same precaution with his wath they Suspected we had him them and mode Some Search, at the Same time Swareing most bitterly, that if we did not produce the Watches that they would blow our brains out, however we Stuck to our first [asser]tions that we had none, and they at lenth Shut the doors and ordered us to drive on Mr Parker lost about twenty one or two guineas, but we boath Saved our watches, but I Can ashore you that this geting robed is a Very Serious business, Especially when they get desa[ ]in geting the Expected booty which was the Case with us, as the Chief they got of Mr Parker was french bills, in a pocket book therefore they Supposed their prize was Very Small.

I Expect that the [ ] will nearly bring about the day of my Experiment Should I not be obliged to go again to france before that time. I have nothing new to inform you of Eccept my receiving letters from Philadelphia that doath not give me much Satisfaction; poor barnes he has no Suspetion of mankind, and I doubt he will let our inventions be Clogged by private Veiws; without ever Suspecting it; my best respects to all

[91] Whiting, Rogers, and Parker were of London and were interested in Rumseys steamboat. Whiting was also a noted speculator. *William and Mary Quarterly*, XXII, S. 1, 163, 165, 240.

friends and relations, I am with real regard yours &c James Rumsey

Capt Charles Morrow [92]
Shepherdstown
Virginia

To Thomas Jefferson [93]

London May 22d 1789.

Sir,

The first leasure hour I had, after my return from Paris to London, was Employed to find out a person that would advance Some money for the Tooth drawers, (that I had the honour of receiving from you.) for the use of the inventor of them, Several persons seemed willing to give something for them, provided that they would answer the purpose Well on Experiment, and wanted me to put them into their hands for that purpose, which I did not think proper to do, not knowing their Characters; I mentioned the Sircumstances to Mr Vaughan,[94] and he was kind enough to propose shewing them to a Mr Cline,[95] (or Kline, a famous annatomist, who he thought might be depended upon; I have this day Called upon Mr Vaughn to know the result of the application; but to my great surprise Mr Vaughn informed me, that, Mr Cline assured him, that such had been in use in England, to his knowledge, for upwards, of Sevin years— Mr Vaughan left them with Mr Cline, and requested him to make them more public, as he Conceived them to be a usefull machine; I confess I have my fears that Mr Cline has not been Candid in his business, but as I know nothing of him, but what

[92] Charles Morrow was the brother-in-law of the inventor. This was written on this letter. See note 65.

[93] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[94] See note 77.

[95] Probably this was Henry Cline (1750-1827), who was a surgeon, anatomical lecturer, agriculturist, and writer on agricultural topics. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IV, 544-5.

I heard from Mr Vaughan; I therefore did not think it prudent to Express my doubt to him. I am realy very sorry that I am not able to give you a more Satisfactory account of this matter, I have however taken Some pains to discover wheter such a thing has been in use, in this Country, or not, and shall let you know the result of my Enquiry.

The Machine for my Vessel has not gone on So briskly as I Expected, the case I believe with all new inventions, the Machanickes not being able Execute them, with Such dispatch as they do those they are acquainted with, I Expect however that another month will be near the time of Experiment.—I am Sir under many obligations to you, for your kind attention to my business in france, and shall ever remember your friendship with gratitude.—I have the honor to be Sir with great Esteem your most obliged abd Obt hbl Servt

James Rumsey

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esqr &c &c &c
Paris

To Thomas Jefferson [96]

Dover June 6 th 1789

Sir,

I have letters from America as late as the 24th of April, And as the Ship Came from Philadelphia, I thought it possible that you might have had none of So late a date; I therefore Concluded that the little news that they brought me might be (under such Circumstances) acceptable to you, The amount of it is; "That his Excellency General Washington arived at Philadelphia [97] on the 20th of April, amidst the acclimation of

[96] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[97] The journey of Washington from Mount Vernon to New York was one continuous ovation. At Schuylkill, near Philadelphia, arches of larrel had been erected, and as he rode beneath them a wreath dropped on his head. On the Old York Road in the northern part of the city, a bevy of maidens, clad in white and wearing floral chaplets, streded flowers in his

a joyous multitude, That on the next day he Set out for new york where he arrived on the 23d That the Federal government was Completely organized, and that Congress ware [sic] pr[ ]with great harmony; and public affairs wore a very promising appearance, It is Sir agreeable news to hear of their proceeding to business so Calmly, after so many warm, and irritateing party disputes.—

My letters mention that there was a Committee [98] of Congress appointed to bring in a bill for Establishing an office for granting Exclusive Wrights to inventors &c This is a business that is at present upon, but a bad footing, in any part of the world; England I believe has fixed it on the best Establishment, yet it is far Short of being Equitable, or Encouraging to ingenious men, which I suppose was the object Such laws was intended to imbrace. The dispute between Mr Fitch and myself has caused many of the gentlemen of our Country to be very tenacious about giveing grants, So much So that the assembly of New York, and Some others, would not give me a grant for the principle of my boiler, but only for one formed like the drawing laid before them (which was intended only to explain its principle more Clearly than Expressions Could.) alledgeing that any other kind of grant, would Cut of others from improving on it, and So I think it ought for a limited time, or what will a grant be worth, if Every form that a machine Can be put into Should intitle a different person to use the Same principle; there is no machine Extent but what might be Varied as often as their is days in a year, and Still answer nearly the Same purpose. Such

path. Many triumphal arches adorned the road along which he traveled. On the twenty-third of April he crossed from Perth Amboy to New York in a boat manned by masters of vessels and accompanied by ships of every description. Great receptions were prepared for him in New York. Joseph Dillaway Sawyer, *Washington*, 279-90.

[98] The first patent act was passed in the United States on April 10, 1790, and on July 13, 1790, the first patent was issued to Samuel Hopkins for an improvement in making pot and pearl ashes. By December 5, 1782, there had been 268,882 patents issued. James Schouler, *History of the United States*, I, 148; John Back McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, I, 583.

mechines as are already in use (and their principles not under any restrictions by patents, then Every person Improving on Such mechines aught to have a grant for Such improvement and no more. but where the principle itself is new I humbly Conceive that it ought to be Secured to the inventor for a Limited time, otherwise but few persons will Spend their money and time in makeing new discoveries, knowing that the first person that varies the form of his invention, will be intitled to receive Equal advantages from it with himself. The french method of haveing new inventions Examined by a Committee of Philosophical Charactors, before grants can be obtained, is certainly a good one, as it has a tendency to prevent many Simple projectors from ruining themselves by the too Long persuit of projects that they know but little about.

I have troubled you Sir with these remarks, not only because I am deeply interested myself in haveing a just and permanent Establishment of this business made, but because I wish my Countrymen to have Such Encouragement given to them, as to Cause them to out Strip the world in art, & Science. And knowing you could throw great light upon the Subject on your return to america was still a greater inducement for me to wish to draw your attention towards that object.—I meet with many delays In getting forward my Experiments, It will be ten days yet before I can have the Vessel Launched, by the time She gets to London I Expect to have the machinery ready to put into her, what time it may take to fit it is uncertain, but hope not long; I have a dread Comes on me as the day approaches on which I have so much at Stake, yet Every review I take of my plan Confirms me more in its Success.—

I have the honor to be Sir with Every Sentiment of Esteem. Your most obliged friend & ob^{t} hb^{e} Serv^{t}

Thomas Jefferson Esq^{r}—

James Rumsey

P. S. I have not had it in my power hear any thing more about the tooth drawers Except that M^{r} Vaughan asked me if

I had informed you what had been done, I told him I had he said the the annatomist, I forget his name at this Instant, was geting a pair made by them. I am & *J. Rumsey* pleas to excuse the Scarcety of paper—

His Excellency Thomas Jefferson Esq^{r} &c &c &c

Paris. per post

To Thomas Jefferson [99]

London Sept^{r} 8th 1789.

Sir,

you should have heard from me long before this time, had it been in my power to have given you any information worthy of your attention, respecting my Experiment; which has been most unfortunately kept back, by the ungenerous Conduct of a person who undertook to assist me with Some money towards the accomplisment of it; on Conditions by which he would have been a gainer, had the Vesseal success, and Could have lost nothing had she failed; Considering him as my friend, I had the Vessel registered in his name, myself being an alien, could not have it done in my own name; after he had advanced nearly all the money agreed upon, he took it into his head that he Could turn it to better account in another way, In consequence of which he informed me (with as little concern as he would break a childs play thing) that if I did not in a few (I think four) days produce him his money, that he would sell the Vessel to raise it; which he certainly would have done, if he had not accidently by a letter made himself Liable to pay for the Engine, I prevailed upon the founder to call upon him, and make a demand of the money for it; this frightened him so that he Came to terms immediately; M^{r} Vaughan.[100] and a M^{r} Robert Barclay (to whome I had letters) have since furnished me

[99] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[100] See note 77 for Vaughan.

with the means of discharging the debt; this unlucky affair has put me back near a month with my Experiment; and will prevent me I fear, (from what Mr Cutting [101] tells me) from giving you an account of my success before you leave Europe; I am not under the least apprehention of failing; I have by weight, (hung to a Cord made fast to an anker, and drawn over a pully in the Seat of the Vessel) tried what power was necessary to hold her against the Current of the Thames; the power of the Engine being known, it may be (nearly) assertained how fast she will go; for my own part I have little doubt of her going upward of one hundred & fifty miles in East Twenty four hours; by steam alone; and am satisfied that ten miles per hour may be looked up to, with a great degree of Certainty; where the Engine bears a proper proportion of Size to the Vessel; mine is rather small; my Vessel haveing got thirty tons larger, than what she was intended to be, when the Cylinders of the Engine were Cast.

It has been out of my power to assartain whether Toothdrawers, Such as you gave me, have been in use in this kingdom or not; but I Confess from my not being able to discover any Such in the Shops, and the instrument makers, that I believe they were not; Mr Kline [102] I suppose he has had a pair made by them, and he has returned them to Mr Vaughan; On account of the poor man that invented them, I am sorry that I have been so unfortunate in that business; It was my opinion before I Came to England that men of genius in general possessed liberality, but to my great disappointment, I find them to be a Set of mean pilforers; the Machanical part of them in particular are So to the greatest degree.

I with Sincerity Sir wish, that you may have a Safe, and pleasant, passage to your own Country; [103] and a happy meeting with all your friends.

[101] John Brown Cutting. See letters of September 18, 1789, and September, 1789, of John Brown Cutting to Jefferson. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[102] See note 94 for Mr. Cline.

[103] Jefferson went from LeHavre to Cowes on the Isle of Wight, where

I have the honor to be Sir with much Esteem and regard, your most obliged, and most Obt hbl Servt

James Rumsey.

Thomas Jefferson Esqr

P. S. I suppose nothing farther will be done respecting a grant in france [104] untill they hear of the Success of My Experiment, will you Sir be so obliging, as to mention it to a friend or two that will assist me when I again have occation to apply? Monsieur

Monsieur Jefferson
Challot à Paris
favoured by Mr Morris

To Thomas Jefferson [105]

London Septr 22d 1789.

Sir,

I received your favor of the 10th inst on Saturday last, this being the first post day Since that time, will make it I fear too late for this to find you in france; but I have no doubt but you have received a letter I wrote you by Mr Morris [106] on the 8th;

he waited until October 14, 1789, for favorable winds. On November 13, he reached the Capes and made Secretary of State at once. Gilbert Chinard, *Thomas Jefferson*, 245.

[104] When Rumsey was in Paris he thought that it would be easy to procure patents for his machines, but the French Revolution interfered with the government doing anything at this time.

[105] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[106] Gouvernour Morris (Jan. 31, 1752-Nov. 6, 1818) was a student, lawyer, statesman and writer. He was a member of the first provincial Congress of New York which met on May 22, 1775; a member of the constitutional convention of New York which met in 1776, where he, John Jay and Robert R. Livingston were appointed on a committee to draft a constitution; and a member of the Continental Congress from 1777 to 1780. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention from Pennsylvania in 1787, and as chairman of the committee on Style he wrote the Constitution as we have it today. O December 18, 1788, he sailed for Europe on private

which will inform you of the Situation my Vessel was then in, and the Cause of such great delay in the Experiment; [107] I still meet with remarkable delays occationed by my workmen, yet hope that ten or twelve days more will be about the period that I shall be ready to move.—I am with you and Mr Leroy,[108] of opinion that further application for an Exclusive privilege in france is unnecessary, before the fate of my Experiment is known; [109] Accept my most Sincere thanks for your friendship in that business.

I am with perfect Esteem Sir your most obliged and most Obt hbl.

Servt—

James Rumsey.

Mr Jefferson ———

To Thomas Jefferson [110]

London Octr 4th 1789.

Sir,

I have by the august packet, received a letter from one of

business; on January 17, 1791, he was sent to England to endeavor to persuade her to fulfill the terms of the treaty of 1783; from 1791 to 1794 he was minister to France; from 1794 to 1798 he traveled in Europe; and from 1800 to 1803 he was a member of the United States Senate. He was a promoter of the Erie Canal as well as other internal improvements, and a lecturer and writer of note. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 209-12.

[107] When the Rumsean Society sent Rumsey to England in 1788 to patent his machines, the company could do nothing in America for Fitch held the public interest here. For more than four years he labored abroad amidst the most dishartning circumstances. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 223.

[108] Mr. Le Roy was a member of the Academy of Science in France. See letter of Jefferson of November 13, 1786, to M. Le Roy des L'Academie Des Science. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[109] Abbe' D'Arnal at Wismes had already obtained an exclusive privilege for navigating the rivers of France with the steam engine. His grant was given on November 10, 1788, and the papers of Rumsey were sent in August, but perhaps the papers of the Frenchman were filed first. Jefferson did not think that D'Arnal could succeed for he had thus far made a complete failure. The fact that Rumsey procured the patents in England made him the more hopeful that he would procure them in France. Jeffer-

the gentlemen, whome I am Connected with in America, informing me that the Rumseian Society,[111] was upon the point of trying an Experiment, near Philadelphia, with my improved Barkers mill,[112] upon a large Scale; and from the account I have received of the hight of the water, that is to work it, the dementions of the mechine, and the purposes it is intended for; I am Sure it cannot suceed; Evin in a tollerable manner; my not knowing the Quantity of motion, and force, that to Say how much they want to produce, puts it out of my power, here, to Say how much they will be deficiant of makeing the application to the best advantage; I only know, that the purposes the mill are for, (grinding snuff &c.) requires too slow a motion for my Barkers mill, to Exert its powers to advantage, in the manner they are about to apply it; The Exellence consists in moveing with great Velocity, (in proportion to the head of water that turns it) without thereby looseing much of its power; it follows then, that it, moveing slow will not give it power in proportion

son to Thomas Payne, December 23, 1788, and Jefferson to Dr. Williard, March 24, 1789. Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[110] Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

[111] James Rumsey convinced many men about Philadelphia that he had a boat that would make a success. Benjamin Franklin was the treasurer of the Rumsean Society. Rumsey went to London in the spring of 1788, and by the spring of 1790 he had secured his patents and launched his boat that spring. Here he met Fulton. He had built a boat propelled by steam nineteen years before Fulton tried his boat on the Seine, and John Fitch had demonstrated that steam could be used to propel boats on the Delaware in 1785. In 1737 Jonathan Hull printed a book in which he gave a picture and description of a steamboat. Sawyer, *Washington*, II, 311-13.

[112] Barker's Mill was invented by Dr. Barker, and consists of a vertical axis, moving on a pivot and carrying the upper millstone after passing through an opening in the fixed millstone. Upon the vertical axis is fixed a vertical tube connecting with a horizontal tube, at the extremities of which there are two apertures in opposite directions. When water from the mill course is introduced into the tube it flows out at the apertures and by pressure of the water upon the sides of the tube opposite the apertures it revolves and turns the whole machinery. An arrangement is attached for raising and lowering the upper stone. In England, as modified by Whitelow, it is called the Scotch Turbine. *Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia*, V, 3764.

to what it will loose, by restraining it from motion, yet nearly the Same quantity of water will be Expended, that would if it moved five times as fast; which probably may be about the Velocity it ought to move with, in the above mentioned Experiment. The philosophy of this mill is not yet much known, of Course the bad Success of this Experiment, will Carry Conviction to the public, that it cannot become usefull; and may make bad impressions upon the mind of my friend, with respect to my other inventions; Expecially as my Opponants, will not fail to Set Every misfortune that my Schemes meet with, in the most disadvantageous point of view; It is therefore Sir, that I have taken the liberty of troubleing you with this account, of what I Expect will be the fate of the Rumseian Societye^{s} Experiment, of my Barkers mill; that my friends in America, to whome you may be good enough to Communicate the Contents of this letter, may Suspend their opinions respecting the utility of that mill; untill I have an opportunity of makeing an Experiment with it, under my own direction; when I doubt not of making it perform all that I promised the public to Expect from it.

In all next week I expect to try my Vessel, and am very sorry that it was not in my power to get it ready, before you left Europe.

You have my best wishes for a pleasent Voige, and your Safe arival in America.

I am Sir with the greatest Esteem y[our] much obliged friend, and Ob^{t}

hb^{l} Serv^{t}

James Rumsey.

Thomas Jefferson Esq^{r}
His Excell^{y} Thomas Jefferson Esq^{r}
to the care of Thomas Autige Esq^{r}
Merchant Corves Isle of Wight [113]

(To be continued)

[113] Cowes is a famous watering place on Isle of Wight. Isle of Wight is in the English Channel and belongs to Hampshire. The Channel of Solent and Spithead separates it from the mainland. It is noted for chalk downs and wonderful scenery. *Ibid.*, IX, 1061.

BALTIMORE COUNTY LAND RECORDS OF 1684.

Contributed by Louis Dow Scisco.

Contemporary court records of this year show that in March the county court ordered surveys of two 100-acre town sites, one located at Bush River, the other at Sparrow's Point on Patapsco River. Later in the year the court considered payment of the expenses of these surveys.

The summarized documents here following are from pages 62 to 109 of Liber R M No. H S, as therein transcribed from some former record book called Liber E No. 1.

Deed of gift, December 29, 1683, John Yeo, gentleman, for love and affection, conveying to his son-in-law Garrett FitzGarrett, effective at grantor's decease, the 150-acre tract "New Parke," adjoining to FitzGarrett's tract "Carters rest," but if grantee dies without issue the land reverts to grantee's mother Somelia Yeo, if living, otherwise to grantor's heirs. Witnesses, John Mould, Jane Mould, Andrew Mattson. Grantor acknowledges and wife Somelia consents February 4, 1683-84, before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners.

Deed of gift, November 3, 1683, Jacob Jennifer, for love and affection and five shillings, conveying to Otho Holland of Anne Arundel County the 97-acre tract "Middle Jennifer," on the north side of Middle River, as patented July 27, 1680, to grantor. Witnesses, Griffith Jones, Thomas Vaughan. Grantor acknowledges November 6 before Vincent Lowe and John Darnall.

Letter of attorney, April 20, 1683, James Fendell, merchant, appointing Miles Gibson, gentleman, his attorney to receive conveyance from Thomas Thurstone and to require acknowledgment in court. Witnesses, George Holland, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, December 13, 1683, Thomas Thurstone, for £150, conveying to James Fendell, mariner, of Bright Helmston, Sussex, Eng., the 600-acre tract "Delph" on the west side of Delph Creek, near Rumley Marsh, adjoining to land formerly taken up by Maj. Samuel Gouldsmith and opposite to land formerly taken up by John Hatton, it being patented to Francis Stockett. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, and wife Mary consents before Bedell. Certificate from Wells, Bedell, and Ephraim Lee that seizin is given by turf and twig to grantor's attorney Miles Gibson.

Deed. December 13, 1683, Thomas Thurstone, for 8,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Miles Gibson the 115-acre tract "Delph Island," on north side

of Rumley Creek and lying between the tract "Delph" and the Bay, as patented January 10, 1670-71, to Francis Stockett of Anne Arundel County. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges before George Wells and Edward Bedell, commissioners, and wife Mary consents before Bedell.

Deed, March 3, 1683-84, Arthur Taylor, planter, by agreement with his wife Frances, conveying to James Smither, son of said wife, 150 acres out of 300 acres taken up by grantor on south side of Bird's River, a branch of Gunpowder River, under warrant of April 20, 1683, assigned by Nicholas Painter to Maj. Thomas Trueman of Calvert County, by him to Thomas Lytfoot, and by him to grantor. Witnesses, Thomas Hedge, John Yeo. Grantor acknowledges at March 4 court before the justices. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, August 2, 1683, Michaell Judd, shipwright, and wife Jane of Gunpowder River, conveying to John Nicholls, planter, of Bush River, 200 acres at Bow Creek in Bush River, adjoining to land formerly owned by William Orchard. Witnesses, John Lowe, Marcus Lynch. Judd acknowledges August 6 before the justices. Wife Jane consents November 6 before George Wells. Clerk Hedge attests.

Deed, February 11, 1683-84, Thomas Everest, planter, and wife Hannah, of the Clifts, Calvert County, for 2,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Bennett, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, the 60-acre tract "Balls Addition," on east side of Clapher's Creek and adjoining to land of Mary Humphries, as patented to Richard Ball, said wife Hannah being daughter and heiress of Richard Ball, cordwainer, deceased, late of Baltimore County, Witnesses, James Ellis, George Parker, William Holland. Everest acknowledges and wife Hannah consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Unsigned notation that alienation is paid.

Deed, February 11, 1683-84, Thomas Everest, planter, of the Clefts, Calvert County, for 1,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Bennett, merchant, of Anne Arundel County, the 50-acre tract "Bennetts Range" at Claper's Creek on north side of Patapsco River, adjoining to the tract "Balls Addicion" and lately taken up by Everest. Witnesses, James Ellis, George Parker, William Holland. Everest acknowledges and wife Hannah consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Interpolated entry, February 3, 1684-85, that Miles Gibson, collector, has received from Mr. John Bennett 2 shillings 6 pence for alienation of Ball's Addition and 2 shillings for Bennett's Range.

Deed, May 21, 1684, Jacob Jenifer, for 7,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Long, gentleman, the 733-acre tract "Jacobs Chase," at Burchen Run at head of Back River in Gunpowder River, as patented to grantor. Witnesses, Samuell Addams, John Rouse.

Letter of attorney, May 21, 1684, Jacob Jenifer appointing Mr. Miles Gibson and Mr. James Thompson his attorneys to acknowledge conveyance of 733 acres to Maj. Thomas Long. Witnesses, Samuell Addams, John Rouse. At June 3 court Gibson acknowledges. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests.

Deed, January 24, 1680-81, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel

County, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Robert Hooper, cooper, of the same county, the 480-acre tract "Betties Choyce," at White Marsh, south of Cranberry Swamp, as patented July 18, 1679, to Yate, and adjoining to Col. George Wells's tract "Benjamins Choyce"; also grantor appoints Col. George Wells and James Phillips his attorneys to give seizin. Witnesses, Henry Hanslap, Mathias Prosser, Mark Richardson. Wife Mary consents and Yate acknowledges August 9, 1681, before Thomas Taylor and Anthony Demondidier. Undated certificate of seizin by Yate's attorneys, Col. George Wells and James Phillips.

Bond, January 24, 1680-81, George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to Robert Hooper, cooper, of the same county, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Henry Hanslap, Mathais Prosser, Marke Richardson.

Deed, June 10, 1683 (*sic*), Robert Hooper, cooper, of Anne Arundel County, for 6,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Col. William Burgess, merchant, of same county, the 480-acre tract "Bettys Choyce," at White Marsh near Cranberry Swamp, adjoining to Col. George Wells's "Benjamins Choyce," said tract being patented July 18, 1679, to George Yate, who conveyed it on January 20, 1680-81, to Hooper. No witnesses recorded. Grantor acknowledges June 10, 1684, before Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway. Seizin is given by grantor's attorney Mr. Thomas Hedge, who also acknowledges September 3, 1684, before Col. George Wells and Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, June 10, 1684, Robert Hooper, cooper, appointing Thomas Hedge his attorney to acknowledge in court a conveyance to Col. William Burgess. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway.

Bond, June 10, 1684, Robert Hooper, cooper, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to William Burgess, merchant, of same county, for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Francis, Nicholas Gassoway.

Deed, Marsh 5, 1683-84, Elias Robertson, planter, of Cecil County, for 4,600 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Andrew Mattson, carpenter, the 200-acre tract "Railey" or "Reiley" on the north side of Swan Creek, as described in deed to James Robertson, of Cecil County, deceased. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Bedell. Grantor acknowledges August 2 before Col. George Wells and Mr. Edward Bedell, commissioners. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge. Receipt, Miles Gibson in 1684 having received four shillings from Mattson for alienation.

Bond, March 5, 1683-84, Elias Robertson, planter, of Cecil County, obligating himself to Andrew Mattson, carpenter, for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, George Wells, Edward Bedell.

Deed, June 15, 1684, Maj. Thomas Long of Back River, attorney for

Jacob Jenifer, for 2,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Tench, merchant, of London, the 250-acre tract "Jenifers Delight," on the north side of Swan Creek and at head of Back River, formerly called Northwest River, as patented in 1683 to Jenifer. Witnesses, Thomas Scudamore, John Boring. Long, as attorney, acknowledges at August 5 court. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Letter of attorney, January 21, 1683-84, Jacob Jenifer appointing Maj. Thomas Long his attorney to execute conveyance of 250 acres to Mr. Thomas Tench and acknowledge same in court. Witnesses, Samuel Adams, John Rouse.

Deed, July 5, 1684, Miles Gibson conveying to Thomas Thurstone the 500-acre tract "Ann's Lott" at Susquehanna River as described in patent. Witnesses, Thomas Long, Edward Bedell, John Boreing. Grantor acknowledges at August 5 court. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge. Receipt, July 14, 1684, Deputy Clerk John Yeo, for the receiver Miles Gibson, having had from Thurstone 12 pounds of tobacco for alienation. John Hathway signs.

Deed, August 5, 1684, George Ogleby, tailor, and wife Johannah, of Gunpowder River, for 3,300 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas James, planter, the 64-acre tract "Hornes Point," on a branch of Saltpeter Creek in Gunpowder River, adjoining to Thomas Richardson's land, as deeded by William Horne, cooper, March 7, 1681-82, to Ogleby. Witnesses, William Farces, Robert Benger. Signed with mark as Oguilvie. Oguilvie acknowledges and wife Johannah consents at August 5 court before Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Deed, August 4, 1684, Thomas Long, gentleman, and wife Jane, of Back River, for 1,600 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, planters, of same place, 111 acres on the western branch on the west side of Middle River, adjoining to the tract "Hopewell" and reaching to a creek of Back River. Witnesses, John Boreing, Joseph Smith. Maj. Thomas Long acknowledges at August 5 court and John Boreing certifies wife's consent as given. Deputy Clerk John Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, August 4, 1684, Thomas Long, gentleman, of Back River, obligating himself to Richard Enock and Francis Freeman, planters, of same place, for 3,200 pounds of tobacco payable at his dwelling plantation, as security for performance of covenants concerning 111 acres sold and for acknowledgment by himself and wife. Witnesses, John Boreing, Joseph Smith.

Deed, August 2, 1684, Joseph Gallion, planter, and wife Sarah conveying to Phillip Greenslade, mariner, of Barnstable, Eng., 200 acres occupied by Gallion, on the south side and at head of the northwest branch of Bush River. Witnesses, Thomas Richardson, Peter Ellis, John Yeo. Wife Sarah consents and both grantors acknowledge at September 2 court to grantee's attorney Mr. James Phillips, before Mr. John Boreing. Deputy Clerk Yeo attests for Clerk Hedge.

Bond, August 2, 1684, Joseph Gallion, planter, obligating himself to

Phillip Greenslade, mariner, of Barnstable, Eng., for 12,000 pounds of tobacco as security that land at Bush River, when conveyed, shall be free from all incumbrance except proprietary rents. Witnesses, Thomas Richardson, Peter Ellis, John Yeo.

Letter of attorney, May 2, 1684, Phillip Greenslade, mariner, appointing James Phillips, innholder, his attorney to receive conveyance of land in court. Witnesses, Thomas Hedge, Robert Pearlie.

Deed, June 4, 1684, John Larkin, innholder, of Anne Arundel County, conveying to James Phillips, innholder, the 400-acre tract "Eaton" on the west side of Susquehanna River, adjoining to land formerly laid out for Thomas Griffeth, gentleman, and to the tract [*illegible*] formerly surveyed for Henry Ward, gentleman. Signed by Thomas Hedge. No witnesses recorded. Thomas Hedge on September 6 declares himself attorney of grantor and acknowledges conveyance before George Wells and John Boreing, commissioners.

Letter of attorney, [*illegible*] 4, 1683, John Larkin, innholder, appointing Thomas Hedge, gentleman, his attorney to acknowledge conveyance of 400 acres to James Phillips. Witnesses, George Holland, Otho Holland,

Bond, October 15, 1684, John Larkin, innholder, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to James Phillips, innholder, for 24,000 pounds of tobacco as security that land conveyed is free from incumbrance, except for proprietary rents. Witnesses, Thomas Taylor, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, November 5, 1684, William Horne, planter, and wife Mary, for 3,500 pounds of tobacco, conveying to John Hall, planter, 67 acres in two parts, first, the 50-acre tract "Horneisham" on the east side of Gunpowder River as patented June 18, 1681, to Horne, adjoining to the tract "Daniell Nest" formerly taken up by Thomas Odaniall, and second, "one third part of three parts" of "Daniells Nest," estimated at 16½ acres, which Horne holds as dowry of his wife Mary that comes to her by inheritance. Witnesses, George Wells, John Boring. Wife Mary consents before Boring. Clerk Hedge attests.

Bond, November 5, 1684, William Horne, planter, obligating himself to John Hall, planter, for 10,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of articles in conveyance of same date, Witnesses, George Wells, Thomas Hedge.

Deed, August 12, 1684, John Hawkins, planter, of Anne Arundel County, eldest son and heir of John Hawkins, deceased, for 5,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Henry Constable, merchant, of same county, the 100-acre tract "Bolealmanack neck" on the south side of Patapsco River, formerly taken up by grantor's said father. Witnesses, George Parker, John Peasly, William Holland. Grantor acknowledges in Anne Arundel County before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Clerk Hedge attests. Receipt, September 8, 1684, Miles Gibson, receiver, having had alienation dues from Constable.

Deed, March 11, 1683-84, Edward Filkes, planter, of Anne Arundel County, for 4,000 pounds of tobacco, conveying to Thomas Pattison, of same county, 140 acres of the 170-acre tract "Yates Inheritance" on the

south side of Patapsco River and adjoining to Paul Kinsey's tract "Halbrough," the tract being patented September 4, 1668, to George Yate, gentleman, of Anne Arundel County, and deeded by him on March 29, 1668 (*sic*) to Francis Waters, planter, of same county, the said Waters conveying 140 acres on January 1, 1671-72, to John Jacob, planter, who conveys same March 1, 1671-72, to Filkes. Witnesses, John Sellers, Richard Robertson, William Holland. Grantor acknowledges and wife Ellen consents before Thomas Taylor and William Burgess. Receipt, September 9, 1684, George Burgess, high sheriff, having received alienation dues in full.

Bond, March 11, 1683-84, Edward Filkes, planter, of Anne Arundel County, obligating himself to Thomas Pattison of same county for 20,000 pounds of tobacco as security for performance of covenants in deed of same date. Witnesses, John Sellers, Richard Robertson, William Holland. Clerk Hedge attests.

QUERIES.

A Reward of $50.00 Offered. For the identification of the parents of Jane Banks Thompson, b. Mar. 31, 1783; d. July 31, 1837; m. Nov. 6, 1860, Charles Swift. They lived and reared a family of eleven children in Hanover Co., Va.

Mrs. Henry Lockhart, Jr.
Longwoods, Maryland.

Question. Are there any descendants of Nicholas, James or Jacob Shires, who served in Revolutionary War, now living in Baltimore Co., Md.?

Mrs. P. T. Chapman, Sr.
Vienna, Ill.

A John DeBruler or DeBrulier was living in Baltimore county, Maryland in 1666. Was he the one referred to below?

An Act was laid before the Upper House of Maryland May 17, 1701 asking for the naturalization of John DeBruler of Baltimore county, and John and William DeBruler, his sons, together with the other sons and daughters of said John DeBruler who were born within the colony.

Did the DeBrulers come from near Orleans, France?

When did they come to America?

What were the names of those who came first?

What were the names of the other children of the above-named John DeBruler?

What was the name of his wife?

What was the name of the DeBruler who married a widow Roberts? What was her maiden name? When were they married? What were the names of their children?

What was the name of their son who married a Greenfield? What was her first name? When were they married? To what line of Greenfields did she belong? Was she a descendant of Thomas Greenfield? What relation was she to Micajah Greenfield, the solider of the French and Indian war?

Was Micajah Greenfield of the French and Indian war period the same man who was a Tory at the beginning of the Revolution but changed his allegiance and was pardoned by the Maryland Assembly?

(Miss) Eva DeBruler.
736 E. Third St.,
Bloomington, Ind.

NOTE.

Newberry Library. A check list of manuscripts in the Edward E. Ayer Collection, compiled by Ruth Lapham Butler. Chicago, 1937. Pp. 296. (One of an edition of 500 copies.)

There is little that can be said concerning this scholarly and handsomely printed volume, other than that it should be of great value to advanced students of American history. Seventeen hundred and sixty-nine items are listed, and a thorough index has been included.

An invaluable tool for scholars.

Vol. XXXII DECEMBER, 1937 No. 4

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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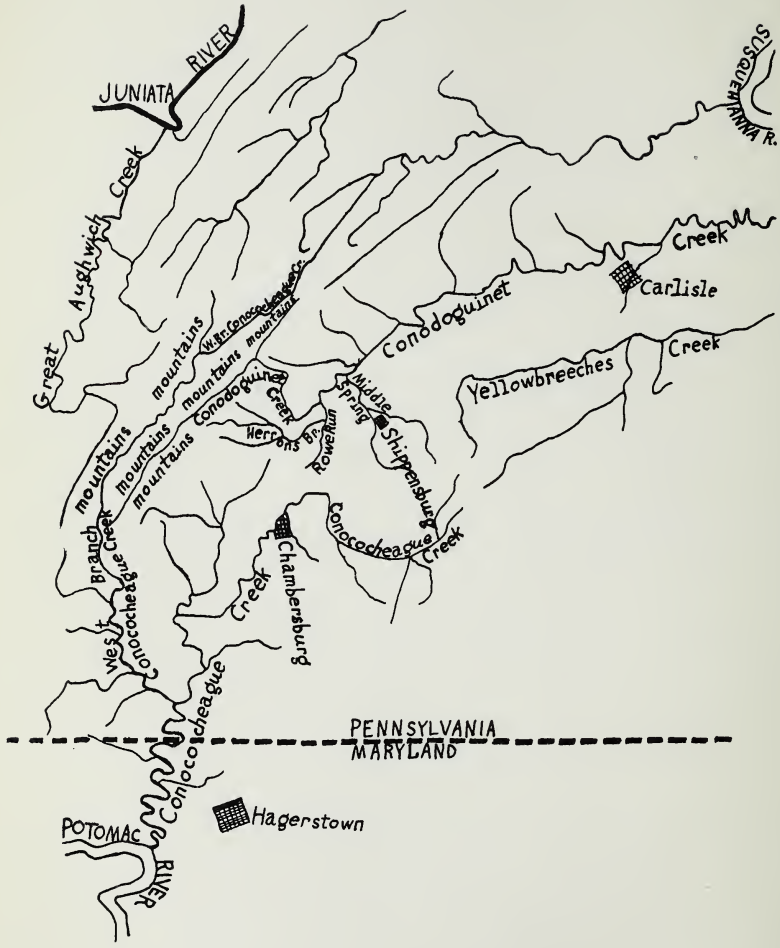
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Conococheague
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MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. XXXII. DECEMBER, 1937. No. 4.

"PATOWMECK ABOVE YE INHABITANTS."

A COMMENTARY ON THE SUBJECT OF AN OLD MAP.

By WILLIAM B. MARYE.

PART 3.

The "Land Carriage" between the Waters of the Susquehanna and the Waters of the Potomac.

The point of departure of this series of articles is an old manuscript map, drawn in the year 1721 by the Hon. Philemon Lloyd and now the property of the Maryland Historical Society. On this map, a facsimile of which was published with the first article of this series,[1] is shown "ye Land Carriage of 8 Miles to ye Susquehannah," connecting a point on the upper reaches of Conococheague Creek, as yet unidentified, with some creek flowing into Susquehanna River, across the divide between waters flowing into that river and the watershed of the Potomac. In a memorandum which was found attached to this map and which, in my opinion, originally formed part of a letter, we are told that this particular creek of the Susquehanna was the "Cunnatiqua-Necota" (in Seneca), or "Cunnatiqueme" (in Shawnee), a "large Branch" of that river, which "Trending South West makes a Land carriage of About eight Miles only; from ye Waters of Potowmec & Susquehannah." These Indian names, it would seem, were never adopted by

[1] See this *Magazine*, Vol. XXX, opposite page 1.

white people. So far as I am aware they are found on no old map of the region in question. The identification of the "Cunnatiqua-Necota" is therefore a problem of a topographical character.

A study of large-scale Government maps [2] of that part of Pennsylvania with which we are now concerned, reveals certain significant facts: The West Branch of Conococheague Creek and the headwaters of two important creeks of Susquehanna River, Conodoguinet Creek and Great Aughwich Creek, interlock in the mountains. It is most unlikely that any portage path ever existed between the West Branch and either one of these creeks. I have not seen the Conodoguinet at Roxbury Gap, where it emerges from the mountains, or higher up. At Orrstown, some miles below the gap, where I saw and photographed it last summer, it is a rather weak stream spread out over a rocky bed, shallow and quite unsuited to canoe travel. Of course, it may be objected, that two hundred years ago it was probably a bolder and deeper creek at that place. However, the mountains have not been deforested and it is unlikely, to me at least, that within them the character and volume of the creek have changed much in two centuries.

There is, in my opinion, no creek of Susquehanna River, save the Conodoguinet, between which and the Conococheague canoe travel was ever possible with the aid of a portage path of a length no greater than eight miles. About two and a half miles above Chambersburg the eastern or main branch of Conococheague Creek approaches to within five miles of Conodoguinet Creek above Orrstown. It is slightly less than seven miles between Conococheague Creek, near a place called Scotland, three miles above Chambersburg, and Conodoguinet Creek, at the mouth of one of its largest affluents, Herron's Branch, about a mile below Orrstown. The Conococheague at Chambersburg, and above that town, at Red Bridge, seems to me, even today, to be sufficiently deep to float a canoe. Between Red Bridge and

[2] I consulted Mercersburg, Chambersburg, Shippensburg, Fairfield, Newville and Carlisle Quadrangles.

the Conodoguinet at and about Orrstown, lies a beautiful stretch of gently rolling country. The hills are higher near the Conodoguinet, than they are along the Conococheague, but nowhere seem precipitous. In my opinion it was across this undulating plain, before the opening-up of this region to white settlers, that a portage path ran, connecting the Conococheague with the Conodoguinet. This plain, I believe, was the site of Lloyd's " land carriage."

Among the " Blunston Licenses " [3] the following seem to be of especial interest as having a possible bearing on our problem:

August 24, 1734 (license issued) to William Thompson, 150 acres, *at the Carrying place on the south Branch of Conedogw^t* (Conodoguinet) to Joyn on the east with William Lawson's tract.

Same day. To William Lawson, 200 acres, *at the Carrying place on the south Branch of Conedogw^t* & Joyning on the west with William Thompson's tract.

April 25, 1735. To John Lawson, 200 acres, *about two miles above the Carrying Place on Conedogw^t* under a hill where two springs rise.

December 6, 1736. To James Brakenrig, 200 acres, on the south side of Conedogw^t *at the Carrying Springs* near Spice Bottom & joyning to Samuel Calverson's place.

August 8, 1737. To ffrancis Bower, 250 acres. In the forks & on Both sides *the north west Branch on the Carrying Spring* & Joyning on a settlement made by James Heron.

At this juncture I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness to Miss Mary H. Colwell, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, who not only as a favor to me, but because of the interest she takes in the history of that part of the country in which she lives, under-

[3] " Notes from the Blunston Licenses," *Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, Vol. XI, No. 3, pp. 269, 273; Vol. XII, pp. 63, 65. The " Blunston Licenses " were licenses issued by Samuel Blunston, Esq., on behalf of the Penns, to white persons who had settled west of Susquehanna River. Their purpose was to protect these people in the possession of their lands, until they could have the same surveyed and secure patents. In numerous cases no surveys were returned and no patents issued.

took researches at Harrisburg and elsewhere with a view of identifying the "Carrying Place" and the "Carrying Spring." Miss Colwell is of the opinion, and I fully agree with her, that the only branch of Conodoguinet Creek to which the name of "South Branch" is applicable, is the large stream which discharges into that creek between Orrstown and Mongol. This stream was formerly known as Herron's Branch. Its principal affluents are Lehman's Run, Muddy Run and Rowe Run. The last named rises about three miles north of Red Bridge on the Conococheague. It derives its name from a series of early land grants called "Culbertson Rowe," most of which were taken up by the Culbertson family. Miss Colwell reports that William Lawson and William Thompson failed to take out patents for the lands on which they were licensed to settle. She finds in the early land grants of those parts no other mention of the "South Branch," of the "Carrying Place," or of the "Carrying Spring" under these respective names. In her opinion Samuel "Calverson" was a Culbertson. This family settled on Rowe Run, as we have noted above. Miss Colwell informs me that James Breckenridge ("Brakenrig") married a Culbertson. This Breckenridge family is known to have settled on the branches of Herron's Branch.[4] This branch took its name from the Herron family, but in 1734 David Herron and his sons, James and Francis, were seated on lands within the watershed of the Conococheague.[5]

By "the Carrying Spring" or "the Carrying Springs" it must not be assumed that any particular spring, or springs, were meant. It is to my mind fairly certain that this name was intended to designate, not a separate spring, but an entire water-course. It seems to have been the custom of the early white settlers of the Cumberland Valley in Pennsylvania to call the more considerable affluents of the principal creeks of

[4] See "Old Mother Cumberland" in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 35, 36.

[5] *Publications of Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania*, XI, 185: "Blunston Licenses."

those parts, " springs." Thus we find in their older records references to Falling Spring, Middle Spring, Le Tort's Spring, Boiling Spring, Great Spring and Dry Spring; and so also, apparently belonging in the same class, the Carrying Spring. The reader may satisfy himself as to the truth of this statement concerning the local use of the word " spring " by a perusal of " Notes from the Blunston Licenses," to which references have been made above. An equally curious way of designating small rivers and fresh-water creeks exists here in eastern Maryland. We call them, in certain cases, " falls." A stranger might think that we refer to some particular falls or cascade, when we speak of Jones' Falls or of Gwynn's Falls. In the case of the Cumberland Valley " springs " descendants of the early settlers of that place have not been satisfied with these designations and have added the word " branch " to some of these early stream-names which survive.

In summing up these remarks concerning the identity of the Carrying Place and of the Carrying Spring, I should say, that, according to my opinion, the South Branch of the Conodoguinet and the Carrying Spring were names for the stream now, or lately, known as Herron's Branch. If this is correct, then the Carrying Place was on Herron's Branch, for we are told that it was on the South Branch.

Of probable significance in this connection was the trading post shown on Lloyd's map as situated at or near the mouth of Conococheague Creek, being described as " An Indian Traders Habitacon & 40 miles from Monockkasye." It was customary to establish trading posts at the junction of commonly used and frequented water routes or of Indian paths.

Without being able to claim an intimate personal knowledge of the divide between the Potomac and the Susquehanna, I believe it will be fairly clear to anyone who examines a good modern map of that part of our country, that the more or less level land between the bend of the eastern branch of the Conococheague and the upper Conodoguinet offered possibilities of a convenient portage which existed nowhere else along this divide.

We are assuming, of course, that the upper Conodoguinet, two hundred years ago and upwards, was navigable for canoes below the mouth of Herron's Branch. Concerning the former navigability of the Conococheague there would appear to be little, if any, reasonable doubt. It is, I should infer, in its lower reaches a gentle, even sluggish stream, and sufficiently deep for canoe travel.[6]

Now, as to the possible uses of this "land carriage" which we believe to have formerly existed between the eastern or main branch of the Conococheague and the Conodoguinet, let me, in conclusion, hazard some suggestions:

Conodoguinet Creek empties into Susquehanna River opposite to the city of Harrisburg. This place lay far above the Susquehannock fort of historical times. It was above many rapids and cataracts of the lower river. People of the Five Nations, wishing to descend in canoes into the country now embraced within the states of Maryland and Virginia, might, by making a "carry" between the waters of Conodoguinet Creek and the waters of Conococheague Creek, avoid hostile contacts with the Susquehannocks at their fort on the lower Susquehanna, enjoying at the same time a much shorter route into the heart of the country, than that by way of the mouth of the Susquehanna and the possibly stormy Chesapeake. There is a well known passage in the Journal of Henry Fleete (1632) about the protection accorded to the "Nacostines," the Anacostan Indians of Potomac River, by the "Massomacks or Cannyda Indians" (Massawomecks = Iroquois see *Handbook of American Indians*, Vol. 2, p. 1087).[7] The Anacostans, whose fort was on the south side of the Eastern Branch of Potomac, otherwise called Anacostia Creek,[8] "have used to convey all such English truck as cometh into the river to the

[6] Maps of the lower and middle reaches of these two creeks show many meanders, a sure sign of slow, deep water.

[7] The Journal of Henry Fleete, in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 25.

[8] The site of this old fort is known from old land records of the neighborhood. I hope some day to publish a paper on this subject.

Massomacks." So Fleete informs us. Does anyone seriously believe that the route over which this trade was carried lay (first) down the Potomac, then up Chesapeake to the mouth of the Susquehanna, and so on up the Susquehanna, past numberless falls and rapids, and, more formidable still, the Susquehannock fort, where confiscation of the goods, if not murder of the bearers, lay in wait? It took the Susquehannocks two days to travel in canoes from Palmer's Island, near the mouth of the Susquehanna, to their fort on the river, about forty miles distant.[9] Of course, there were Indian paths which led up out of Maryland towards the country of the Five Nations; but of the two possible means of travel which were employed in this particular trade the use of canoes seems to me by far the more probable. Notice should be taken of the small number of days required by Captain Fleete's brother, Edward, to go from the place where their ship was anchored (within the limits of the present District of Columbia) to the country of the "Massomacks," and to return to meet the captain again at the falls (Little Falls) of the Potomac. The time consumed, so it is alleged, was "seven days going and five days coming back."[10] As Fleete mentions no mishap encountered by his brother on this Journey, which might have caused delay, are we to infer a going which was up-stream most of the way and a return mostly down-stream? Perhaps this is the meaning of the difference. In a letter, dated February 20, 1638, and addressed to Lord Baltimore, Father Andrew White suggests that three trading posts be established in Maryland: "the one at Palmers Ile for the trade of the Sasquehannoes, the other att Nantiakoke for all the easterne foreland and the third at the Anacostans for the Massomecks."[11] It is obvious that, if the Anacostans had

[9] The Journal of Cyprian Thorowgood, manuscript of 1634 belonging to Dr. Hugh Hampton Young and now on exhibition at the Pratt Library, Baltimore, Maryland.

[10] The Journal of Henry Fleete, in Neill's *Founders of Maryland*, p. 27.

[11] "Massomecks" is the spelling in the original manuscript, which belongs to the Maryland Historical Society. In Fund Publication No. 35, in which this letter is printed, the word appears as "Mattomeckes," an error which is most misleading.

been accustomed to use the lower Susquehanna and Chesapeake Bay in carrying on their trade with the Iroquois, one trading post at Palmer's Island would have sufficed for them and for the Susquehannocks. Evidently they did not use this route.

The trade route between English Virginia and the Five Nations, via the Anacostans, as it existed before 1632, is unknown; but it seems highly probable to me, in view of the data herewith submitted, that it made use of Potomac River between the Eastern Branch and the mouth of Conococheague Creek; of Conococheague Creek and its main, or eastern, branch to a point not more than three and a half miles above the site of Chambersburg; of the lower part of Herron's Branch, and of Conodoguinet Creek from the mouth of that "branch" down to Susquehanna River. Between Conococheague Creek and Herron's Branch of Conodoguinet Creek there was a "carry" of about eight miles over gently rolling land. In my opinion this was a very ancient route for canoe travel, known, perhaps, long before 1632, and still in use in 1721. Assuming it to be proved that the "Carrying Place" was on Herron's Branch, and that my inference, that this place was the northern end of the portage path, is correct, I do not maintain that the contribution of Herron's Branch towards shortening the "carry" could have been anything but a minor one. It saved, maybe, a mile or so, since its lower course lay in the desired direction. A heavily laden canoe might have been towed up the "branch" and eased over the shallows, to the "Carrying Place," where it was unloaded for the trip overland to the Conococheague. I offer these data and theories to the reader, trusting that not only the facts, but the surmises, may seem worthy of serious consideration. There is good reason to believe that a "back way" for canoe travel between the Susquehanna and the Potomac formerly existed and was used by the natives of the country. Here we have indications of such a frequented route as the one we seek to identify. Was there another? Perhaps; but on topographical grounds it seems hardly likely.

JOHN NELSON McJILTON.

HUMORIST, DIVINE, EDUCATOR.

By W. Bird Terwilliger.

In the days before residence in New York City became a prerequisite to any degree of literary pretension, Baltimore, like Boston and Philadelphia, maintained her own literary coteries, published her own magazines, and even achieved some reputation as a publishing center, giving to the world no inconsiderable number of books which are now collectors' items. In the second quarter of the last century, the Monumental City was the scene of prodigious literary activity, and among her writers were several of no little ability, who, either through their writing alone or through their achievements in various fields, profoundly influenced the development of their state, and, directly or indirectly, of their nation. However, Poe's four years in the city, his longer association with its literary life, and his tragic death and burial there have been the subject of so much research and discussion that little attention has been given to the host of other writers who, through all or part of their lives, contributed to the thought and culture of Maryland.

Among the better of these were some who, had they constituted a similar group in Boston, would not today be virtually unknown. John P. Kennedy, cabinet member under President Fillmore and representative of Baltimore in both state and national legislative bodies, established a magazine, the *Red Book*; published several novels, among them two, *Swallow Barn* and *Horse Shoe Robinson*, of better than average quality; and was Mr. Peabody's chief aide in the preparation of his plans for the Peabody Institute. To Kennedy also belongs the singular distinction of having written the fourth chapter in Volume Two of Thackeray's *The Virginians*.[1] Rufus Dawes was

[1] *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 333.

the editor of the *Emerald*, one of the two Baltimore magazines to attain a high degree of literary excellence.[2] Timothy Shay Arthur, who lived in Baltimore from 1817 to 1841, was not only the author of *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*. He wrote creditable poetry, edited several magazines in Baltimore and Philadelphia, published a score or more of novels, and collaborated with William H. Carpenter, another Baltimore poet, in preparing school histories of various states.[3] There were also Brantz Mayer, Secretary of Legation in Mexico, editor of the *American*, executor of the McDonough estate, president of the Baltimore Library Company, and one of the founders of the Maryland Historical Society; [4] James Hungerford, one of the finest poets of the group and the author of *Old Plantation*, a narrative of life in Virginia; [5] John Hill Hewitt, composer, critic, and writer, who edited the *Saturday Morning Visitor*, submitted a poem in a contest conducted by his own paper, which won in competition with Poe's *Coliseum*, and is said to have come to blows with Poe over the matter; [6] and John Nelson McJilton, humorist, divine, and educator.[7]

Born in Baltimore on February 9, 1806,[8] John Nelson McJil-

[2] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, II, 647.

[3] *Dictionary of American Biography*, I, 377.

[4] Scharf, II, 650.

[5] Scharf, II, 646.

[6] *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 606.

[7] The writers mentioned above, and the magazines referred to later, will be treated more adequately in the study of which this paper is a part.

[8] My chief sources of information during the preparation of this biographical study were the following: *The Poets and Verse Writers of Maryland*, by George C. Perine, *Shadows on the Wall*, by John Hill Hewitt, *History of Baltimore City and County from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, by J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, by Edward T. Schultz, the files of the *Baltimore American* and *Commercial Advertiser*, The *Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper*, the *Baltimore Monument* (also called the *Baltimore Literary Monument*), and the annual reports of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City. The main facts concerning McJilton's life are given by both Perine and Scharf, and where they are in accord, I have not given specific references.

No month and day are given by any of the sources for McJilton's birth. All give the year as 1805. The headstone at his grave, however, in Green-

ton began public life in the double capacity in which his father had served the people of Baltimore for many years: that of cabinet maker and Methodist lay preacher. Apparently more bookishly inclined than his father, however, or at least more fortunate in his opportunities for advancement, he studied to prepare himself for orders, in the meantime contributing to the various ephemeral literary periodicals which blossomed in Baltimore during the twenties and thirties.

In 1834 he entered the field of periodical literature in his own right. On June 6 of that year, he, with William T. Leonard and J. L. Cary, edited the first number of the *Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper*, a magazine of some literary and great moral pretensions, and the semi-official organ of the Young Men's Society, which was at that time a strong organization devoted to the moral and intellectual welfare of youth. It was not until November 27, 1834, that the second number of the *Athenaeum* appeared, with T. S. Arthur replacing Cary on the editorial staff. A few weeks later, Leonard also withdrew, leaving the work in the hands of McJilton and Arthur. The *Athenaeum* was published regularly on Saturdays for two years, until, in spite of its popularity, publication was stopped on account of financial difficulties. McJilton had, however, because of the press of other business, relinquished the editorship in January, 1836, although he was a frequent contributor until the end.

In spite of the failure of his first venture, McJilton was confident that Baltimore would support a literary weekly, and on October 8, 1836, brought out the first number of *The Baltimore Monument, a weekly journal devoted to polite literature, science, and the fine arts, embellished with engravings and music.* David Creamer, the hymnologist, was his publisher and co-editor, but it is evident that his duties in the latter capacity were nominal, as McJilton's personality is stamped on every page.

mount Cemetery, Baltimore, gives the date of his birth as February 9, 1806, and I have taken this to be the correct date.

The contents of the *Monument* ran the gamut from homilies on gambling and drink to recipes for tomato pie. "Embellished with engravings and music" was no idle publisher's boast, and these embellishments were not without merit. The literary level of the magazine surpassed that of the earlier *Athenaeum*, for in addition to T. S. Arthur, there were numerous gifted contributors. Among the better ones were E. Y. Reese, whose *Methodist Protestant* became one of the more literary religious journals a few years later, Brantz Mayer, John Hill Hewitt, who, besides writing articles and verse, composed excellent lyrics for the *Monument*, and James Hungerford and J. G. Percival, whose poetry even today makes rather pleasant the reading of those magazines of a century ago. There was a column of book reviews, the work of McJilton, in which appeared many sound criticisms, with occasionally, however, the customary eulogies of tenth-rate productions by authors then in fashion, such as Lucy Seymour and Miss Sedgwick.

After two years, the *Monument* also proved unprofitable, whereupon it was changed to a monthly, with T. S. Arthur succeeding Creamer as co-editor. The character of the magazine was little changed, certainly not for the better. There were more long stories than formerly; there was less verse, and that of a very inferior quality; and there were almost no editorials or critical reviews. It, likewise, folded up at the end of two years, sharing the common fate of literary periodicals in Baltimore. John Hill Hewitt, in his *Shadows on the Wall*, an entertaining but inaccurate volume of reminiscences, says in this connection:

> I have hinted at the opinion I have always cherished, that no strictly literary journal published in the city of Baltimore will pay; and, if it does not pay, it cannot continue to exist.[9]

In reference to the *Monument* in particular, Hewitt reprinted the following extract from an editorial he had written for the *Baltimore Clipper* of October 20, 1840:

[9] *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 56.

We will name these shipwrecked editors, in the order given them by the *Visitor*, not presuming to rank them according to their desserts.

J. N. McJilton, Esq., late editor of the *Monument*. This should have read, editor of the late *Monument*, for that literary work, reared on so stupendous an intellectual foundation, did not prove its durability equal to the towering memento which overlooks our city. It was a beautifully printed work; and in saying that, we give it all the praise it deserves. After a brief struggle it died. Verdict, too much pedantry.[10]

It may be that the gradual decline in the quality of McJilton's editorial judgment, with the eventual collapse of his periodicals, was due to the increasing amount of attention required by his other interests: namely, education and the church. Throughout his editorial career he manifested an interest in education, writing frequent editorials on the subject, and in 1835, while he was still editing the *Athenaeum*, he was elected teacher of Male School No. 1, then as now located at Fayette and Greene Streets.[11] In the same year he had married Miss Sarah Davie, and he was already established in the community as a man of upright and dependable character, as is shown by the following extract from the report of the Baltimore Board of School Commissioners for 1835:

The recommendations by which the latter gentleman [McJilton] was sustained in his application, shew that he possesses the confidence of the inhabitants of the section of the city in which the school is situated, and induce a belief that in a short time, the number of scholars in that institution will be largely increased. The discipline at present enforced, is one of lenity and firmness, and cannot fail, as the Board believe, to render the school permanently popular and promote the best interests of the pupils.[12]

In his second year in this position, McJilton submitted, at the request of the Board, an outline of the organization and routine of his school, which was incorporated in the annual

[10] *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 57.

[11] School Reports, 1829-1848. Report for December 31, 1835, p. 68.

[12] *Ibid.*

report for 1836. Until 1839 he held this position, performing his duties with so much satisfaction to the Board that he came to be regarded by that body as a sort of senior teacher, and his school, the standard by which others were measured.

His preparations for the church were now complete, however, and in 1840, a few months after resigning his teaching position, he was ordained by Bishop Whittingham a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal Church, having forsaken the humble followers of Wesley. A year later he was ordained priest, and made assistant rector of Christ Church. He was also made rector of St. James Church, African, in the same year. He resigned from Christ Church at the beginning of 1842, but retained his rectorship at St. James. In 1844, he was made rector of St. Stephen's, but remained also as rector at St. James. He had already attracted attention as an eloquent and powerful preacher to the extent that, at public request, the church published for distribution his sermon delivered on the Sunday succeeding the presidential election of 1844.

The next twelve years were busy ones for McJilton. He was for several years Chancellor of the short-lived Newton University. He was elected a member of the Board of School Commissioners in 1845, and was at about the same time made a Mason at Warren Lodge No. 9. In 1847 he was made chaplain at the Maryland Hospital for the Insane, in addition to the two charges he already held. During this year he found time to write a novel, *Lizzy Larkin*, for the pupils of St. Stephen's Sunday School, although the increasing demands upon his time compelled him to resign from the Board of School Commissioners. When the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts was organized in 1847, McJilton was the first president, and the opening address which he delivered before the members and their friends on January 6, 1848, shows him at his best as a thinker and orator. He resigned as rector of St. James in 1848, only to enter upon heavier duties in 1849, when he was elected Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, a position which at that time entailed greater duties than are implied in the title, of which more later.

In 1852, McJilton and John Monmonier, also active in public school work, compiled a textbook, *High School Literature*, for use in the schools of the city. In the same year, McJilton edited and published *The Poetical and Prose Works of John Lofland, the Milford Bard*, Lofland being a personal friend of McJilton, and a versifier of some local renown but of little poetic ability, whose bibulous inclinations and irregular mode of life had estranged him from most of the respectable citizens of Maryland.

After his initiation into Freemasonry, McJilton entered enthusiastically into the work of the brotherhood, and in 1856 he was made High Priest in Jerusalem Lodge No. 9. From 1860 to 1865 he was Eminent Commander of the Maryland Commandery of Knights Templars, and in 1862 he was Grand Master and Grand High Priest of the Maryland Freemasons. He was also Grand Chaplain for several years. It is characteristic of the man that some of the reports he submitted in connection with his various fraternal offices ran to more than three hundred pages in length.[13]

Owing to the extensive duties involved in the office of Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, McJilton resigned his rectorship at St. Stephen's in 1853 and devoted the greater part of his time to the service of the public schools of Baltimore, but he remained chaplain at the hospital, was an active Mason, and was frequently called upon to deliver sermons on special occasions in the important churches of the city, although, by virtue of natural ability and considerable experience as lay preacher and ordained priest, he was able to produce eloquent sermons on demand, with a minimum of effort. Among the more noteworthy of his sermons preached by request are the one delivered on the Sunday after the death of Henry Clay, and two Thanksgiving sermons preached in the early years of the Civil War.

Another circumstance which added considerable weight to his labors in these years was his connection with the *Baltimore*

[13] Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland*, III, pp. 818-819.

Patriot, a political and commercial journal established in support of James Madison in 1811, and influential in Maryland politics until after the Civil War. McJilton participated in the financial and editorial management throughout the forties, becoming part owner in 1849. In 1854 he bought the journal outright, but sold it in 1856.[14]

The office of Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners, McJilton's chief interest for nearly twenty years, consisted not only of the management of the financial affairs of the schools, but also of the general supervision later delegated to the Superintendent of Public Instruction. It was the Treasurer's duty to interview candidates for teaching positions, study curricula and make recommendations, supervise the choice of textbooks, visit the schools to observe their operation, and inspect new and old buildings. All these matters were included in the Treasurer's report at the end of the year, in addition to an itemized report of income and expenses for the year. Evidently McJilton thoroughly enjoyed his work in this position; he was sincerely interested in the cause of public education, and in his voluminous reports he found ample opportunity to exercise his flair for elaborate rhetoric.

He was extremely thorough in matters of detail. When, in 1836, as teacher of Male School No. 1, he was requested to submit a report of the daily routine of his school, he accounted for his school day, from nine till four, in approximately ten-minute periods. As treasurer he was no less conscientious. In 1861, he made 427 visits to he several schools, and in 1862, 559 visits. He frequently included in his reports the daily schedules of several of the larger schools, with comments upon their suitability. He submitted every two or three years a list of all textbooks used in the schools, giving the reasons for their adoption. (In 1847 he was a member of a committee of the Board, which submitted a recommendation that the Board prepare its own texts.) His reports also occasionally included essays of nearly a hundred pages in length on the science of education:

[14] Scharf, II, 612.

its purpose and the most efficient means of providing it. He was a faithful attendant at educational meetings throughout the states, and carried to and from them a wealth of ideas, some of which are today incorporated in the soundest pedagogical theories in practice.

McJilton compiled two textbooks in addition to the *High School Literature* in which he collaborated with Monmonier: *The Maryland Primary Arithmetic, designed for the use of public and private schools*, 1856, and *The Maryland Primary Grammar, designed for beginners in the study of the science*, 1857.

He was the advocate of many reforms in the school system; one of these was a reorganization of the administrative department, with the appointment of a Superintendent of Public Instruction. From 1849 to 1866 he insisted that such an office was necessary, but it was not until the latter year that he persuaded the Board and the City Council to create the position, transferring the other duties of the Treasurer to the City Register. When the office was created, the Board, as was fitting, appointed to the position McJilton, who had been performing its duties for nearly eighteen years.

A year after his elevation to the position of Superintendent, McJilton entered into a long correspondence with the Reverend John Hecker, clergyman, educator, and philanthropist, who had formerly been one of the inspectors of the public schools of New York City. He received from Hecker a copy of "his extended pamphlet, proposing a method of classifying the pupils of schools according to their temperaments."[15] In his annual report for 1867, McJilton devoted many pages to an exposition of Hecker's theories, without clarifying them or making them appear tenable. It was the first educational fad which he, for thirty-two years an active worker in the field of education, had embraced.

At about this same time, the question of the education of

[15] Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 1867, p. 94.

Negro children was causing dissension in Baltimore as well as in communities farther south. McJilton, not entirely without the sanction of his Board, established two schools for colored children in 1866 and 1867. No direct appropriation for such schools had been made, however, and the City Register refused to pay the bills for building maintenance and teachers' salaries. The controversy soon attracted the attention of the general public, as well as of the school authorities, and opinion, as was to be expected in Baltimore, was sharply divided on the subject. In a letter to the *Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser* for January 18, 1867, McJilton defended the supporters of public schools for Negroes, maintaining that these schools automatically became a part of the school system, and that as such they are entitled to a share in the common school funds. It was many years before the question was settled satisfactorily, but McJilton did not long remain a party to the discussion.

Whether through his advocacy of Hecker's educational theories, or through his stand in regard to the education of Negroes, or, perhaps, through mere politics, which were dirty from cross-roads to capital in those days, rather than through either of these circumstances, McJilton fell into disfavor with his Board of School Commissioners in 1867, and was removed from office. The facts in the case are not available. It was not until nearly half a century later that the Board began to preserve the minutes of the meetings, and the newspapers of the day were too occupied with the proceedings of Congress and the efforts to impeach Andrew Johnson to give more than passing notice to local school affairs. On the morning after one of the weekly meetings of the Board, the following appeared in the report of the meeting as printed in the *American*:

Whereas, It is the opinion of this board that the efficiency of the public school system of this city will be promoted by a change in the chief executive officer of public instruction in the same; therefore,

Resolved, That the Rev. John N. McJilton, D. D., be re-

moved from the office of Superintendent of Public Schools, and that the removal take effect on the last day of January, 1868.[16]

In the annual report of the Board the following brief statement is the only reference made to the change in administrative officers:

Within a few months after the election of the present Board, it was considered advisable to make a change in the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.[17]

Mr. William R. Creery, for several years a teacher in the Baltimore schools, was elected Superintendent on January 14, 1868, and was installed in office on February 1.

Even before the inauguration of his successor, however, McJilton had removed from Baltimore to New York City, where he became Reverend Hecker's assistant. He was also made rector of the Madison Street Protestant Episcopal Chapel there, but gave up both positions within a few months on account of ill health. He died in New York on April 13, 1875, and his body was brought to Baltimore to be buried in the family plot in Greenmount Cemetery there.

It must be admitted that it is as a writer that John McJilton is least worthy of recognition. His humor is heavy and crude, save in an occasional poem, though not greatly inferior to much that won the acclaim of the critics of the past century. There is in it a mixture of Philip Freneau, Washington Irving, and Artemus Ward: there is, in fact, considerable evidence that he was a conscious imitator of Irving. He wrote prolifically, under so many pseudonyms that much of his work can with difficulty or not at all be identified. His favorite pseudonym as a humorist was "Giles McQuiggan," and, as a serious writer, "The Stranger." Unfortunately, "The Stranger" was a common signature in the magazines to which he contributed;

[16] *The Baltimore American and Commercial Advertiser*, Wednesday, December 11, 1867.

[17] Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City, 1868, p. 1.

consequently even the work thus signed must be identified by other means.

John Hill Hewitt says of him:

> John N. McJilton . . . was one of my most industrious correspondents. [Hewitt was at that time editing the *Saturday Morning Visitor.*] His favorite signature was "Giles McQuiggan"; his style was racy, but crude. He has published a volume of poems; some of them are truly meritorious, and entitle him to rank among the first of our bards; while others want verve, and might be placed in competition with the mental efforts of a romantic schoolgirl. . . . In his associations, Mr. McJilton was an amiable man, good-humored and modest.[18]

As might be expected, he is neither so bad nor so good as Hewitt's statements indicate. He is always far below "the first of our bards," and never descends quite to the level of "the mental efforts of a romantic schoolgirl." Much of his work, however, especially of that which he had to write to fill out lean numbers of his magazines, is very bad. In his attempts at light humorous verse, he frequently exhibits all the grace of a dancing elephant, but there are passages, delicate and whimsical, not inferior to Freneau's poetry, which they sometimes resemble. Perhaps not the best of these, but certainly typical of them, is his *To a Musquito*, which appeared in the *Monument* for October 10, 1838, and was later reprinted in his collected poems. The following stanzas illustrate its best and worst qualities:

TO A MUSQUITO

By Giles McQuiggan

Be gone you starveling-illstarred creature,
So lank of limb and gaunt of feature,
You luckless, witless, foolish thing!
How dare you enter one's upstairs,
And get upon his ears to sing?
And whether he's at books or prayers,
You come with your eternal song,

[18] *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 48.

Whu-u-u-whut, and who can read
Or pray with any kind of speed,
You spider-legged imp!—go long!

You tap the saint as well as sinner,
And good or bad—it's for your dinner:
Their carcasses seem all the same,
And you are no philosopher
To cant and quibble o'er a name,—
And grumble when a term you hear
Expressed a little out of rule,—
In this, the world you imitate,
You rob both rich and desolate,
Nor for the wise forsake the fool.

To rhyme much more, it's not for me to
About your manners, friend Musquito,
I've had about as much to do
With you and yours, as I could wish,
And now I must insist that you
Will go elsewhere and seek a dish,
For past misdoings no amends
Forever will I ask of thee,
But when you next may visit me
I hope you'll not invite your friends.[19]

This poem illustrates the greatest weakness of McJilton's humor, in both prose and verse: his conclusions. More often than not, after a good start, he is unable to come to a point, and the piece wilts away to an anticlimatic finish, leaving the reader with a feeling that he has been sold.

Better than average in this respect is *Eveline Torrance.*[20] Eveline had eleven suitors, none of whom pleased her mother, who, having herself married a poor man, was determined that Eveline should dismiss the whole eleven, and choose a man of means. But Eveline's affections became fixed upon one of them, Jeremiah McKinster, a mechanic. Mrs. Torrance, horrified, chose a fat man whose only qualification was that he owned a frame house, and forbade Jeremiah McKinster her

[19] Poems, p. 120.
[20] *The Monument,* October 29, 1836, Volume L, p. 25.

daughter's company. When the lovers continued to meet, contrary to her commands, she set about plotting with the fat suitor how they might dispose of McKinster. Mrs. Torrance suggested a duel, which was not to the liking of the fat one. The conclusion is one of McJilton's best.

After some discussion it was agreed upon, that Mr. Jeremiah McKinster should undergo a cow-hiding, and be compelled to renounce, before witnesses, any pretensions that he might be *suspected*—for the whole thing was yet upon suspicion—of having toward Miss Eveline Torrance. Preliminaries were soon arranged, and the duplicate of Daniel Lambert essayed to the use of his supple weapon upon the dorsal region of Mr. Jeremiah McKinster—the thing according to agreement was to be done in open day, and in sight of the Torrance house, where the glorious deed might be witnessed by the family. As Jeremiah passed the house daily, to and from his place of business, the opportunity was soon obtained, and the parties met; the fat lover, after the statement of his purposes, and the offer of a moment's time for his rival to renounce all claim to Miss Torrance, which kind offer was most indignantly refused—commenced his operations—whereupon Mr. Jeremiah McKinster seized upon the cowhide, wrested it from his hand, and whaled him in the most genteel manner imaginable. This feat was performed in the sight of Mrs. Torrance and Eveline, and while the one bit her lips with rage, the other looked upon the scene with much satisfaction. This was the last of the fat lover, for he never appeared in the presence of his mother law [sic] in *prospect* again. Jerry was complete master of the field, and one evening, when no one dreamed of such a piece of business, he and Miss Eveline walked over to the parson's, and were pronounced by him, before they left his house, "one flesh." This happy fact was announced immediately upon their arrival at home, and after a few volleys from the old lady, Mr. McKinster stated that he was the owner of three brick houses, when suddenly her tongue ceased, and the thing was made up—much to the satisfaction of *all* parties. Jerry is now a man of wealth—he has been elected to the legislature in the state in which he lives, several years in succession, and enjoys the confidence of his friends, particularly old Mrs. Torrance, who daily applauds her daughter for the discriminating powers she exercised in the choice of a husband.

At its worst, McJilton's humor is very heavy indeed. He created abominable puns, italicized freely, and enclosed innumerable phrases in quotation marks for no apparent reason. In both style and subject matter he shows the influence of Irving, but he fails to do credit to his master, although occasionally his versions of old legends are not unpleasant reading.

In his serious writing, McJilton exhibits the same uneven qualities that are apparent in his humor. Much of his verse is inscribed to members of his family, and is even more sentimental than was warranted by the spirit of the times. *Beech Hill*,[21] a poem describing in glowing terms the country home of Robert Gilmor, and lauding Mr. Gilmor, who had presented McJilton with an engraving of the house at Beech Hill, for preserving a scene of great natural beauty, brought its author considerable attention and has since been referred to as among the best of his verse. The following are the opening and concluding stanzas:

How many scenes of seasons past,
  The picture doth renew!
The flowery scenes of love and truth,
  As vivid and as true
As when their burning light was on
  My youthful heart and brow;
And though they sleep with buried years,
  They're memory's treasures now.

Long may'st thou live and bloom as now
  And treasure be to him—
Above the sordid gains of life,
  By wiser years made dim,
And other feet may walk on thee,
  And hearts be glad as mine;
While worshiping the gathered past,
  At Memory's sacred shrine.

Superior to *Beech Hill*, however, are *The Triumph of Liberty*[22] and *The Tomb of Bozzaris*.[23] The former, which was read before a meeting of the Associated Literary and Scientific

[21] Poems, p. 84. [22] Poems, p. 13. [23] Poems, p. 71.

Societies on July 4, 1848, contains the bad verse found in all occasional poems, but also includes some passages of poetic quality. Its theme is one which every truly patriotic American poet of the early nineteenth century employed at least once: the glorification of Americanism. The author traces the history of mankind from Adam, who for a time enjoyed liberty, through the rise and fall of Assyria, Egypt, Greece, and Rome, to modern times. Then he pictures the Genius of Liberty seeking a new home, and eventually finding it in the New World. He concludes with the successful termination of the Revolutionary War.

The Tomb of Bozzaris is perhaps his finest poem. Although it, too, treats a hackneyed subject, it shows McJilton at his best. The following are two of the better stanzas:

And many years o'er Greece must fly
Ere she that freedom may attain;
And many a valiant head must lie
As low as her Bozzaris slain,
Before the laurel circlet clasp
Her brow, so mangled now, so torn,
Still bleeding in the tyrant's grasp
As though no jewels it had worn.
She trembles at the tyrant's will,
But Greece in gloom is lovely still.

O Greece! thou hast indeed a name,
A glory that may never fade;
Though past may be thy years of fame,
Thy heroes in the tomb be laid,
But still there is a majesty
About thy being, live that must,
When nations that have trampled thee
Are mingled with oblivion's dust.
There is in thy proud sun though set,
A grandeur that doth gild thee yet.

In his serious prose, McJilton is too moral, too much the old Methodist lay preacher. He wrote two novels, *Lizzy Larkin*, which I have mentioned before, and *Hester Harris, or Worth and Its Reward: a Story of Life* (1856). Both are extremely

sentimental, written with no regard for style, and both describe the tribulations of virtue, with its ultimate triumph over the powers of evil. In the preface to *Lizzy Larkin*, which purports to be a true story, the author says of his heroine:

Her most earnest prayer was that God would bless her in her efforts to be a true and faithful Christian, so that she might always be prepared for death.[24]

This cheerful spirit is maintained throughout both novels, and McJilton's shorter stories and articles are of a similar nature. *Herbert Harris*,[25] the story of the horrible death of a young infidel, concludes with the following words:

We thought he would die easy, and while talking of his departure, the clock struck three—then as if by some sudden convulsion of his whole body, he sprung about two feet above his bed, and crying "ah I come," fell precisely as he had lain before. For some moments we were speechless, and when we recovered from the surprise into which this strange act had thrown us, finding he was perfectly still, we proceeded to examine his body; he was still warm, a clammy sweat was on his flesh, and the terrible contortion of his countenance bespoke the agony in which his spirit had taken its flight.

The publication of literature of this kind might, at first thought, be considered cause enough for the failure of the *Monument*, but it must be remembered that the readers were accustomed to it; it was in the spirit of the times, and was considered a most wholesome literary diet.

McJilton was under no delusions as to the quality of his work. In the preface to the volume of his poems which he published in 1840, he wrote:

While engaged in writing the poems, no thought of future fame obtruded to mar the pleasures of composition, which have been adequate to the labor expended in their production. They are the offsprings of the heart; their errors those of an inoffensive muse, which, however, is as independent as unpretending,

[24] *Lizzy Larkin*, p. 1.
[25] *The Monument*, October 8, 1836, Volume I, p. 1.

and presents its efforts alike to "cormorant and commoner," expecting each without "favor or affection" to dispose of them according to his pleasure.[26]

There was present in all his literary activity one or more of three objectives: to further the cause of education, to point a moral, or to foster a spirit of nationalism. The first will be discussed in connection with his work in that field; of the second, ample evidence has been given in the passages quoted above; as to the third, the magazines which he edited were established with the avowed purpose of providing an outlet for native genius. Hewitt diagnosed the fatal malady of the *Athenaeum* as "too much encouragement of native genius."[27] The editorial platform of all three, and of the *Patriot*, was distinctly nationalistic. In the *Athenaeum* for May 30, 1835, there was reprinted from the *Knickerbocker* an article on American Literature. The following is an extract from the editorial comment upon the article:

There can be no question of the injurious tendency which a large portion of the popular literary productions of England has upon our social habits and feelings, and on this subject the writer's views are perfectly coincident with our own. Popular prejudice, in spite of the convictions of common sense, will gradually take its character from the tone of popular literary productions; and this is the reason why we want a literature that shall not shed an attractive but illusive glare upon aristocratic exclusiveness, nor give to rank and wealth that factitious consequence which strikes at once at the foundation of our national institutions.[28]

It is evident that literary excellence was a matter of secondary importance.

That McJilton was not devoid of literary judgment may be established through a study of his critical articles. As I have said earlier, he frequently fell into the error of mistaking moral earnestness for literary ability, as in the case of Mrs. Sigourney or of Miss Sedgwick, but he was not alone, and when he dif-

[26] Poems, p. vi.
[27] *Shadows on the Wall*, p. 58.
[28] The *Baltimore Athenaeum*, I, 222.

fered from public opinion, the soundness of many of his verdicts has been proved by time. He did not join in the general acclaim accorded by Americans to Edward Bulwer-Lytton. In a long article in the *Monument*, he compares Bulwer and Scott, and, while he is perhaps too kind to Scott, his appraisal of Bulwer is sound. He calls Bulwer's characters "creatures of fancy."[29] "Where is the character in all the works of Bulwer," he asks, "that will bear any comparison with Old Mortality?"[30] He says also, "Bulwer still strives to make it [his work] more perfect, and a few extra touches of his pencil renders fulsome what is unfinished without them."[31] And again, "Bulwer writes to tickle the imagination, and his work will only please so long as that subtle property of the mind is under excitement."[32]

I have said that he was influenced by Irving. Here is his judgment upon his master:

> Irving has done as much perhaps as any other American in the cause of American literature; his superior as a writer is scarcely to be found in this or any other country.[33]

This in spite of Irving's frequent choice of foreign subjects.

Although McJilton's active participation in religious work extended over a part of his life only, and at no time commanded his exclusive attention, he was not without distinction in that field. Completely orthodox, he remained, however, strangely tolerant, and while he hurled mighty thunderbolts at the evils of the day, he was never unsympathetic toward those who had fallen from the path of grace. He was an advocate of temperance, yet in one of his best stories, *The Bride of the Barrens*,[34] he good-humoredly relates how he and a brother clergyman officiated at a wedding which, thanks to an idiosyncracy of the bride, could not be solemnized until all present, including the preachers, had united in polishing off the contents of innu-

[29] *The Monument*, December 16, 1837, Volume II, p. 84.
[30] *Ibid.* [31] *Ibid.* [32] *Ibid.*
[33] *The Monument*, March 3, 1838, Volume II, p. 172.
[34] *The Monument*, November 12, 1836, Volume I, p. 42.

merable stone jugs, supplied by the bride's mother from a seemingly inexhaustible supply in the cellar.

Every event of national or local importance had for him a moral significance, and many such incidents were made the subject of excellent sermons. In one of the earliest of his published sermons, that delivered after the presidential election of 1844, he pointed out that government is a divine establishment, to which man is bound to submit; that to resist the laws, once made, when they infringe not on the laws of God, is to resist God; and that, following a political campaign in which the party spirit ran high and much wrong was done, the nation's duty now was to obey and serve God.[35]

He never allowed politics to enter his pulpit, and he rebuked severely those ministers who made use of their position to further the interests of political parties, saying of them, "The ministers of the sanctuary have become politicians and partizans." [36]

Although not in sympathy with the doctrines of Andrew Jackson, McJilton allowed no trace of his opinions to appear in the sermon which he preached on the Sunday after Jackson's death. "What we have to do with his name and actions," he said, "is to draw from them such lessons of spiritual instruction as become the sanctuary of God." [37] There was bitter sectional feeling in the land at that time, and one of the lessons McJilton drew from Jackson's death was its effect in uniting the people of the nation, though in grief. He saw it as a timely act of Providence, and plead that the people might take the hint of Providence and remain united. As a second lesson, he pointed out that Jackson died "a practical believer in the Christian faith" [38] and that we, the lowly, might profit by the example of the great. The sermon, for which McJilton chose as a text the words, "Be still, and know that I am God," [39]

[35] *Man's Duty to the Civil Government and to God: a Sermon.*

[36] *A Nation Making Light of Religion in the Time of Its Calamity: a Sermon*, p. 16.

[37] *God Speaketh: a Sermon*, p. 9.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[39] *Psalms*, 46, 10.

concludes with a warning that the occasion of its delivery came as a reminder of the instability of human life: a warning to the wicked, an encouragement to the faithful.

In his sermon on the death of Henry Clay,[40] preached at St. Stephen's on July 4, 1852, McJilton made a stand for unionism, stating that Clay's greatest services to the nation had been his efforts in that direction.

Two Thanksgiving sermons, those of 1861 and 1862, both preached by special invitation, as McJilton was no longer serving a congregation, are, however, among the most powerful of those that have been preserved. The first, preached on November 28, 1861, has for its title, *Our National Degeneracy the Cause of Our National Troubles.* It is organized in a masterly fashion upon the text, "I have a goodly heritage."[41] We have a goodly heritage, he says, in a threefold way: 1. In our nationality. We have reached the highest point of attainment in the useful arts. Our constitution is perfect, the result of prayer; under it we have become great. 2. In our domestic and social privileges. We have necessities, comforts, luxuries. We are equal socially. 3. In our religious freedom. There should be no sects, but since there are, we are fortunate in being able to choose our own.

But we have abused our goodly heritage, in all its threefold aspects: 1. In our nationality, for there is no prayer now. No man is elected to office because he is pious. "The demagogue has been made the successor of the true patriot."[42] He declares that, "The worst sentiment ever introduced by partizan policy is that which declares that 'to the victor belong the spoils,'"[43] and points with contempt at the type of men who get the spoils. The only way out of this deplorable state, he says, is for us to become a religious and educated nation. 2. In our domestic and social privileges, for there have sprung up class distinctions, with the wrong class in power. The hope

[40] *God's Footsteps: a Sermon.* [41] *Psalms,* 14, 6.

[42] *Our National Degeneracy the Cause of Our National Troubles: a Sermon,* p. 15.

[43] *Ibid.,* p. 16.

of society is in the great middle class, which must neither sink nor rise, but must be enlightened, educated to be useful. 3. In our religious freedom, for the pulpits have become partizan and the churches corrupt. McJilton believed that the war was a scourge of God upon the nation to chastise it for these evils.

Probably his most powerful and eloquent sermon, though not so well organized as the one outlined above, is that which he preached on the next Thanksgiving, November 27, 1862. In it he relates how the covenant of Jehovah was broken by the Israelites, and how as a result the great Jewish people disintegrated. Then he draws the parallel provided by our own people. We have broken the covenant with God; this day, which should be a day of fasting and prayer, is devoted to gluttony; speculation (in food, stores, etc.) is rife; there is sectarianism. What other than a great national calamity is to be expected? It is only the few good people for whose sake we are spared greater evils.[44]

In a century and a country which boasted some eminent divines, these sermons are worthy of being ranked with the best.

Of the three fields in which McJilton labored for forty years, he was most faithful to that of education. He believed in education for the masses, and studied earnestly how it might be made a reality. The same motive lay behind this zeal, I believe, that directed so much of his effort in other fields, his Americanism. Six years of age at the outbreak of the second war with Great Britain, he lived through the most intensely nationalistic period in American History, not without sharing the prevalent enthusiasm concerning the future of his country. Not even Whitman surpassed him in his faith in democracy. It was this belief in the principles of democracy that made him so concerned with the welfare of the public schools, for, he reasoned, and frequently asked, how can men govern themselves well without a knowledge of the aims and purposes of govern-

[44] *Our Nation Making Light of Its Religion in the Time of Its Calamity: a Sermon.*

ment, and an understanding of the means of accomplishing these purposes? Let him speak for himself:

Humanity must be educated for intelligent citizenship. . . . Had the statesmen and editors of the past half century but directed their efforts to the enlightenment of the people upon the various subjects involved in the character and use of their free institutions, they would have secured the foundation of the Republic as laid by the patriots and patriotic heroes of the Revolution, in such strength and firmness as would have rendered it immovable for ages. Had these statesmen and editors exercised their abilities and opportunities in multiplying the number of competent teachers, and in assisting, and counselling, and encourageing them in the discharge of their obligations in instructing the youth of the times, the people had been fully prepared for their national engagements as American citizens; and it is more than probable that no sectional dangers would now [1860] be feared, nor would any crisis from internal causes be apprehended. Had the teachers of the past been sufficient in number and the right sort of men and women, and had they performed honestly and faithfully the service required of them, mental and moral power of our people would now be sufficient for any emergency that might arise. The peace of the nation would be preserved in the proper measure of its strength, and the confidence of its citizens would be established in their intelligence, patriotism, and virtue. No properly educated nation could possibly tolerate for a single moment the idea of its own destruction.[45]

But it was not only for the sake of the state that McJilton desired a nation of educated men and women; he was interested in the individual as well. He regretted that literature and learning tended to raise a man above labor, rather than to qualify him for it, maintaining that in whatever position, the artisan or laborer would benefit by the acquisition of knowledge, and that all labor would, by the infusion of knowledge into its performance, be raised to a higher level. Business men could profitably learn psychology; farmers, chemistry, and there

[45] *Importance of the Teacher's Calling, Nationally Considered,* an address delivered before the National Teachers' Association in the city of Buffalo, August 10, 1860, p. 17.

would result, not only greater efficiency in these fields, but, for their practitioners, a higher niche in the social scale. All labor would be dignified by a knowledge of the literature which belongs to it.[46]

With these ends in view, he set about making the education of the children of Baltimore as thorough and as useful as possible. Believing that the foundation determined to a great extent the pupil's attainments, he emphasized the instruction of beginners, and compiled two texts for use in elementary schools, a primary arithmetic and a primary grammar.[47] Both are small volumes, likely to be scorned by the compilers of today's elaborate and well-padded textbooks, but they leave out nothing that is essential to a knowledge of the fundamentals of their respective subjects. Although modeled after the texts then in use, they show McJilton's dissatisfaction with the prevalent system of teaching, and the thoroughness with which he wished his teachers to drill their pupils. There is endless repetition, and each lesson is followed by specimen exercises, with the suggestion that the teacher supply additional ones as required to establish the principles firmly in the pupil's mind.

From a study of these texts alone, it might be inferred that too great a reliance was placed upon the memory in the schools supervised by McJilton, but such was not the case. He seldom missed an opportunity, either in his addresses before educational groups or in his reports to the Board of School Commissioners, to disparage the rote system of learning, and to extol the process by which the student learns by reasoning. In one of his annual reports he wrote:

> To cram the memory with facts without communicating or developing the power of using them is not to educate the pupil. The evidence of the pupil's attainment is in the power of using his knowledge. . . . Let the pupil be taught to express his thoughts, to communicate what he knows, and it will increase his desire to think, and to know more; and the more he ex-

[46] *Opening Address,* delivered before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, p. 19.

[47] See above, p. 13.

periences the improvement of his powers, the more will he increase his capabilities, and give evidence that he has not studied in vain. . . . By such process as is here commended, the memory itself must be encouraged in connection with the other faculties of the mind, which ought to be employed in common with the memory, in the apprehension, understanding and use of all the subjects of study.[48]

In the same report, McJilton related how he, on his visits to the schools, had frequently examined the pupils to determine the efficiency of the system of instruction. He found that the pupils could recite perfectly the rules for which he asked, but upon further questioning he learned that the rules and definitions conveyed no more meaning to them than would so much Greek. It was against this type of teaching that he inveighed furiously upon every opportunity. In his opening address before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, in 1848, he criticized the educational system then in favor, saying:

The process of the schools is for the master to instruct from books, and this duty may appear to be faithfully enough performed, but the mind of the student is crammed rather than expanded; it is burthened with a weight under which it is crippled, rather than taught to soar. The student should not only be taught to use his books, but should be taught also to use the information he obtains from them. He should be instructed in the employment of his own powers. He should be drilled in the use of the knowledge he acquires; and the drilling process should be performed while he is acquiring it. The substance of every lesson he studies should be made a part of his own mind, and the proof that it is so, should be required by the actual practice. What he learns should be drawn from him in such a manner as to make it his own communication.[49]

The years which McJilton spent in charge of Male School No. 1 acquainted him with the teachers' problems, and he was always their champion against attacks from within and without

[48] Report of the Board of School Commissioners for 1866, p. 108.

[49] *Opening Address*, delivered before the Maryland Association for the Encouragement of Literature and the Arts, p. 18.

the school system. When he was a member of the Board, in 1847, there was proposed a reduction in the salaries of the teachers. McJilton opposed the measure with all his energy, and in a long speech before the board pictured the evils that must result from such an action. Teachers would be dissatisfied, he said, and hence, uninspired. Capable men and women would be able to command better salaries in other fields, and would forsake teaching. There would be a continual shifting among personnel, a condition inimical to the welfare of the pupils. To reduce the already inadequate salaries, he maintained, would reduce the teaching profession to the level attributed to it by its enemies: the last resort of those who had failed at everything else. The following is a part of his plea:

It is said that we can get male teachers for five hundred dollars, and three hundred dollars, to supply the places of those for which we are now paying eight hundred and fifty and six hundred dollars. And it is said that we can get female teachers for two hundred dollars, and one hundred fifty dollars, to supply the places occupied by those to whom we pay four hundred and fifty, and two hundred and fifty. Sir, I do not doubt at all but that this may be the case. And I will say further, sir, that I do not doubt but that we can get teachers in both the departments for any prices we may be pleased to offer. But I would ask what kind of teachers will they be? Will they be persons of education, and ability, and character? No, sir, such they cannot be. It is impossible. They will be anything else. If persons are capable of discharging the high and important obligations of the school-room, they will be able to command prices much nearer the equivalent of their services. Competent and faithful teachers cannot be obtained for anything like the sums named. I have said the labor will be according to the pay, and I may add, so will the laborer. The principle comes from high authority that "the laborer is worthy of his hire," and whatever contravenes that principle must be injustice and oppression.[50]

It is characteristic of McJilton's thoroughness that in prepa-

[50] *Speech against the Reduction of the Salaries of the Teachers in the Public Schools*, p. 22.

ration for this defense he made extensive research into the school systems of other cities and states, particularly that in Boston, which was outlined for him in detail in a letter from Horace Mann.[51]

He concluded by submitting a plan whereby expenses might be reduced without injury to the teachers, through systematized and centralized buying of supplies, establishment of a more graded system of schools, with correspondingly graded requirements for teachers (both of which recommendations were later adopted), and an increase in the tuition, which was then one dollar per head per quarter for all pupils.

The salaries were not reduced.

In a history of Central High School, now Baltimore City College, he indulged in one of his bursts of rhetoric, and paid tribute to the teaching profession in his second-best pulpit style:

> Beyond this vale of tears there is a purer society than here. The limits of time are not our limits. When these times shall be ended; when this generation shall have passed away; yes, when time shall be no longer; when the name by which we now designate man shall be forgotten; shall I see the work which has been commenced here, continuing to prosper! Is not the material with which I work immaterial, immortal, invisible, eternal? as a teacher I would then cast my eyes all along the avenues of society; here and there I see a temple of knowledge, which has been erected as a monument to what common schools have done for our race. How noble then is our calling, how honorable, how lofty! The faithful teacher, why ought not he to hold, in the sight of the community, the highest position in point of respectability? Yet among us he is a proverb and a byword to the *respectable* classes of people.[52]

Education in its more general aspects also claimed his consideration. He read widely in educational literature, and followed with interest the progress of the various state systems which were established long before that of Maryland. This tardiness on the part of his native state was a constant source

[51] *Ibid.*, Appendix A.

[52] *Historical Sketch of the Central High School of Baltimore*, p. 46.

of shame to him, for which he apologized when abroad and which he strove to mend when at home. The final establishment of a state school system in Maryland, in 1865, was due in no small degree to his efforts. There had been for years a state appropriation for an "academical fund" (There is a strikingly modern note in McJilton's lament that the counties each received $800.00 annually from this fund, while Baltimore, paying one-third of the taxes of the state, received nothing), but this money could be spent by the counties as they saw fit, and there was no state organization until 1865.

McJilton also critically examined the various foreign systems of education, and particularly admired that employed in Prussia. In 1837, in an editorial in the *Monument*, he wrote:

> Reports which have been circulated, exhibiting the system of education practised upon in the Prussian government, which is without doubt the best in the world, have done much toward the advancement of the cause in this country, and the day may be not far distant when the opportunity of obtaining a liberal education will be afforded every child in the land.[53]

On various other occasions he cited the Prussian system of teacher training in normal schools, recommending its adoption in Maryland.

In thus pushing aside for a moment the curtains of oblivion which have, in the lapse of more than half a century, obscured the figure of John McJilton, we see that he was the man of his time: nationalist, optimist, apostle of *Democracy*, champion of the great middle class. We should seek far to find a better composite picture of "man thinking" in America between 1830 and 1870. As a writer, he was not quite good enough to reach posterity, even in the textbooks and literary histories. His failure to do so was no doubt due in part to lack of talent, for his works do not bear the mark of genius, but it was also due to indifference. He was, I believe, sincere when he wrote the preface to his published poems. He wrote for pleasure, not

[53] *The Monument*, January 28, 1837, Volume I, p. 135.

for laurels. He was content, in his magazines, to provide, for those who might have talent, an opportunity to reach an audience, and to stimulate culture in his city and state. That much of the writing appearing in their pages was superior to his own caused him no rancor. It was enough for him to be able to present it to the public, and, in his editorials, to further the causes of nationalism and education.

The success that attended McJilton's efforts in the pulpit, however, and a study of those of his sermons which have been preserved, indicate that in that calling he was far from being the amateur that he appears in literature. His rapid promotion in the Maryland Diocese, his frequent calls to preach sermons for special occasions long after his retirement from active church work in Baltimore, his call to a New York charge immediately after his arrival there—all these circumstances are measures of his ability and popularity as a preacher. The sermons he delivered are the products of a mind singularly even and tolerant in a day of great sectional and partizan jealousy. Although he followed with keen interest the trends of worldly affairs, he never allowed himself to be carried away by the fervor of his opinions upon them, into petty rabble-rousing and recrimination. While he felt that from the pulpit he could exert an influence for the betterment of his city and nation, he remained an able minister of the gospel; when he felt that in the field of public education he could exert a greater influence, he devoted all his powers to that cause.

In his deep concern for the future of the American people, he put aside any inclination he may have had to divide his attention among three congenial spheres of activity, and singled out public education as the instrument which he could employ to the greatest advantage in laying the foundations for future national success. In a democracy, to the principles of which he clung tenaciously, the responsibility for the government rests upon the common people, the great middle class, and he saw clearly that in his day the greatest handicap under which these people labored in governing themselves was unenlightenment.

It was to this end, then, that these people might, through the public schools, receive that enlightenment which would enable them to govern themselves wisely and independently, that he expended his greatest efforts in that direction. The citizens of Baltimore and Maryland do not today realize their indebtedness to John McJilton for many of the educational advantages which they now enjoy. Almost single-handed he strove to build up an educational system comparable to those in other localities, and in Baltimore City he succeeded so well that at the time of his death, her system was inferior to none.

McJilton was a man with a purpose, and that purpose was not to attain literary perfection, or to win, through his eloquent sermons, the adulation of his fellow Baltimoreans; it was to improve the lot of his fellow man, and in his educational work, at least, if not in his ecclesiastical and literary endeavors, he achieved it.

Chronological Table.

1806. February 9. John Nelson McJilton was born in Baltimore, Maryland.
1834. Started the *Baltimore Athenaeum and Young Men's Paper* with Wm. T. Leonard and J. L. Cary.
1835. Married Miss Sarah Ann Davie, of Baltimore. Was elected teacher of Male School No. 1.
1836. January 23. Left the *Athenaeum.*
October 8. Started the *Baltimore Literary Monument* with David Creamer.
1838. Changed the *Monument* to a monthly.
1839. Resigned as teacher.
1840. Was ordained a deacon.
Published his *Poems.*
1841. Was ordained a priest.
Was made assistant rector of Christ Church.
Was made rector of St. James.
Resigned at Christ Church.
1844. Was made rector at St. Stephen's.
1845. Was elected a member of the Board of School Commissioners of Baltimore City.
Was made a Mason.
1847. Was appointed Chaplain of the Maryland Hospital for the Insane.

Resigned from the Board of School Commissioners.
Published *Lizzy Larkin.*
1848. Resigned at St. James.
1849. Was elected Treasurer to the Board of School Commissioners.
Bought a part interest in the *Patriot.*
1852. Published *High School Literature,* with John Monmonier.
Published Lofland's Poems.
1853. Resigned from St. Stephen's.
1854. Bought the *Patriot* outright.
1856. Sold the *Patriot.*
Published *Hester Harris* and the *Maryland Primary Arithmetic.*
1857. Published the *Maryland Primary Grammar.*
1866. Was appointed Superintendent of Public Instruction in Baltimore.
1868. Was removed from the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction.
Moved to New York City.
1875, April 13. Died in New York City.

THE SIZES OF PLANTATIONS IN SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY MARYLAND.

By V. J. Wyckoff.
St. John's College, Annapolis, Md.

Until one has examined the land records of the colonial period of Maryland there is apt to be some misconception of the sizes of the individual holdings. Manors of thousands of acres fit into the mental picture of a virgin continent more readily than the division of Lord Baltimore's palatinate into thousands of farms of several hundred acres. In one of the standard references on Maryland there is printed a list of many of the lords of the manor with their original surveys and also abstracts of one thousand early land surveys.[1] Of equal sig-

[1] Hester Dorsey Richardson, *Side-lights on Maryland History,* pp. 263-267, 287-355, Baltimore, 1913. For Virginia, see Nell M. Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers, Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants, 1623-1800,* Richmond, 1934.

nificance is information about the number of acres found in tracts of Maryland land bought and sold by private persons. The presentation of facts about such conveyed lands in Maryland during the seventeenth century is the purpose of this article.[2]

Although the General Assembly of Maryland as early as 1639 provided by law that the register of every court should record all conveyances, titles and grants of land, the use of that service was left to the desires of the parties involved until 1663 when by another act recording became a necessity.[3] But there is every reason to believe that full compliance was not experienced in the colony for many years. In fact the relative scarcity of recorded conveyances from 1663 to the end of that decade stands witness.

Because this study of the sizes of lands sold has been joined with one of land prices, certain requirements of the second have limited the selection of material for the first. Necessarily land sales in which a nominal consideration was given rather than the real price could not be used. Such was the case for probably one-half of the recorded conveyances until toward the close of the century. Another restriction partly imposed by the quantity of the deeds was a limit on the statistical sampling to ten tracts of land each year for each county during the period from 1663 to 1700. In many cases the number of available deeds fell short of that maximum. An occasional test was made of the sampling by the use of all items; there was no appreciable difference. And finally, although there were nine Maryland counties with records that antedated 1700, the material for two of those counties was found inadequate.[4]

[2] The field work necessary for the gathering of this material was made possible to a large extent by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council in 1937. This study is to be a part of an economic history of Maryland during the seventeenth century.

[3] *Maryland Archives*, I, 61-62, 159-160, 194, 487-488.

[4] These are the county records that have been used: Anne Arundel County (created in 1650) *Land Records*, IH No. 1 1666-1705, JH No. 2, IH No. 3 1665, IT No. 5 1675-1752, WT No. 1 1699-1702, WH No. 4 1709; Baltimore County (created in 1659) *Land Records*, RM No. HS 1659 to 1725, IR No.

The organization of the data about land sizes has been handled in the following manner. For each of the seven counties the appropriate records were examined page by page, and for each year from 1663 to 1700 the deeds were listed in the order in which they came up to a maximum number of ten for each year.[5] For each deed the following facts were noted: the year of the conveyance (changed to new style), the acreage, the condition of the property (improved or not), the location of the buyer and seller, and finally the price, which was usually stated in pounds of Maryland tobacco. Then for the classification of the land tracts by acres a class interval of 100 acres was used except for the first class which was for farms with less than 50 acres, and the last class which included all properties containing 1,050 acres and more. And because even hundreds of acres appeared more frequently than other sizes, the hundreds were made the central numbers in each class. The classes were, thus, 1-49 acres, 50-149 acres, etc., up to 1,050 acres.

For a maximum sample of ten plantations a year a frequency distribution year by year offered little value; therefore the decade was taken as the more convenient and usual time period

PP 1663 to 1705, IS No. IK 1665 to 1737, TR No. RA 1672-1718, IR No. AM 1681 to 1706; Charles County (created in 1658) *Court Records*, B No. 1 1662 to 1665, and the following sequence in chronological order: C, D, E, F, G, H, I, K, L, M, N, P, Q, R, S up to the year 1697; Dorchester County (created in 1668) *Land Records*, No. 1 Old 1669-1683, No. 3 Old 1671-80, No. 4 Old 1679-89, No. 4½ Old 1689-92, No. 5 Old 1692-1701; Kent County (created in 1642) *Land Records*, A 1654 to 1656, B 1656 to 1662, C, O Liber K 1681 to 1685, OO Liber M 1694 to 1701, *Court Proceedings*, I 1676 to 1695; Somerset County (created in 1665) *Deeds*, B-1 0-1, B-½ 0-2, SC 0-3, M-4 0-4, WW 0-5, MA 0-6, L No. 1, L No. 2, *Judicial Records*, 1670-71, 1689-90, 1690-92; Talbot County (created in 1662) *Land Records*, No. 1, GG No. 3, HH No. 4, KK No. 5, NN No. 6, LL No. 7, AB No. 8. Cecil County (1674) and Prince George's County (1695) were not used. The location of the above records was greatly facilitated by the lists compiled by Louis D. Scisco and printed in various numbers of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXI, 261-273, 356-361; XXII, 62-67, 186-189, 245-259, 349-356; XXIII, 243-246.

[5] There is a total of 1683 conveyances in this study, 110 for the seventh decade, 509 for the eighth, 533 for the ninth and 531 for the last ten years of the seventeenth century.

to reflect a trend, if any, in the sizes of land tracts bought and sold. Thus, for each of the seven counties there was constructed a four-decade frequency table of land sizes distributed in classes, each of which contained a hundred acres, except the first and last classes. Then arose another problem. As has been stated, full samples could not be obtained for every year, so a comparison of absolute figures could not be used.[6] So instead, for each county the number of pieces of land in each class size for the seventh decade was expressed as a percentage of all tracts recorded for the same decade. The same was done for each of the three subsequent ten-year periods.

The results for each county were so similar that a consolidation of the percentages for all seven counties seemed the most fruitful method of displaying the tendencies. In Table I there is presented for the seven counties as a group and on a decade basis the percentage that the number of tracts of land in each class interval bore to the total number of farms for

TABLE I.

PERCENTAGE OF THE PLANTATIONS IN EACH CLASS TO THE DECADE TOTAL.

Acres	1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1689	1690-1699
1-49	00%	00%	02%	02%
50-149	27	40	37	45
150-249	27	29	32	30
250-349	18	17	12	11
350-449	11	05	05	05
450-549	06	04	04	04
550-649	..	02	02	01
650-749	02	..	02	x
750-849	02	01	01	..
850-949	01	..	..	..
950-1049	03	01	02	x
over-1049	03	01	01	01
Total	100	100	100	100

x, less than 1%.

[6] For instance from 1663 to 1670 there is a range from 4 items for Dorchester County to 47 for Charles. There are no records for Kent County in 1688 and 1689, Charles County 1697 to 1700.

that ten-year period. Several comments about the percentages may be made. First, in each decade the majority of the properties contained from 50 to 250 acres, and during the last three decades the class of 50-149 acres contained a larger percentage of lands than any other class. The second observation concerns the trend of land sizes. During these four decades there was a broken upward trend in percentages for the three classes of 1-49 acres, 50-149 acres and 150-249 acres; and if the first class be ignored because of the small absolute number of farms (26 out of a total of 1683) that trend was more pronounced. Thus the number of farms with 50-249 acres became proportionately a larger part of the total—54% in the seventh decade, 69% in the eighth and ninth, and 75% in the last period.

At times it is convenient to treat the whole thirty-seven years as a unit. The necessary data are given in Table II together with groupings which indicate the importance of tracts of land of various sizes. Parenthetically another refinement might be

TABLE II

NUMBER OF PLANTATIONS IN EACH CLASS AND PERCENTAGES OF TOTALS.

Acres	Number of Plantations 1660-1669	1670-1679	1680-1689	1690-1699	Class Totals	% of Grand Total	% Groups
1-49	..	1	13	12	26	02	
50-149	30	205	200	237	672	40	42 / 70 / 72
150-249	30	147	170	153	500	30	44
250-349	20	87	64	61	232	14	
350-449	12	23	28	26	89	5	19 / 23
450-549	7	22	23	20	72	4	9
550-649	..	9	8	8	25	2	6
650-749	2	2	11	4	19	1	3 / 1 / 3
750-849	2	3	3	..	8	x	
850-949	1	..	..	..	1	x	x
950-1049	3	4	8	4	19	1	2 / 1 / 2
over-1049	3	6	5	6	20	1	
Total	110	509	533	531	1683	100%	

x, less than 1%.

mentioned. The second class interval of 49-149 acres included the even units of 50 and 100 acres that were granted as head-

rights under various "Conditions of Plantations" by the proprietor. It seemed desirable to determine their importance in subsequent land sales. Out of the total of 1,683 plantations used in this study 274 tracts of land or 16% were of 100 acres or less and 153 tracts or 9% contained an even 50 acres. It would seem that such small units of land were consolidated with other pieces to raise the total to more than 100 acres, because there is no reason to believe that such minor holdings were any more exempt from sale (and therefore would not come within this study) than larger farms.

It is desirable at this point to make sure that the information so far presented has not been misinterpreted. The figures in this article indicate that with the passing of years from 1663 to 1700 the sizes of a large proportion of the plantations bought and sold decreased, until in the last decade about 72% of the conveyances involved farms of less than 250 acres. From these data one cannot draw a conclusion about the concentration of land holdings by individuals. This would require an ownership analysis of each deed. However, based upon my present knowledge of land records I believe that during those thirty-seven years there was a tendency to break up properties of more than 450 acres and to consolidate pieces of land under 50 acres.

This tentative judgment receives some confirmation from the brief analysis of lands of 100 acres and less that has just been presented. Also it is of interest to compare the frequency distribution by size of lands sold by private persons with the acreage of the original land warrants. Those familiar with Maryland history will recall that under successive "Conditions of Plantation" issued by the Lords Baltimore land could at first be secured only by grants from the proprietor, and for most of the land owners those grants were based on the importation of settlers. The number of acres in the grant varied according to the number of people brought into the colony. As might be expected the first adventurers received the most favorable terms: 2,000 acres for every 5 men who were between the ages of 16

and 50 years, and if less than 5 men then 100 acres per head. Subsequent proclamations varied the number of acres in the grants both for the manors (a minimum of 1,000 acres) and the smaller headrights which were lowered to 50 acres a person in 1641 then raised to 100 again in 1649.[7] By 1683 the speculative abuses in gaining and selling such headrights led Lord Baltimore to abolish that system and institute the outright sale of land at the rate of 100 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres. An exception was made to encourage the development of the area near to the Pennsylvania line; for that section the rate was about 1 pound of tobacco per acre. In 1684 the price was raised to 120 pounds of tobacco for 50 acres with a downward scale of prices for larger purchases.[8]

How did these original tracts of land compare in size with the plantations sold between private persons? A limited sampling of the original land warrants was made by which 910 pieces of property were secured from the appropriate rent rolls.[9] In Table III there is offered for the same period of 1663-1699 a comparison of the distribution of plantations when gained by grant (or purchase from the proprietor) and when bought from private persons. Although the same distribution classes dominated in both groups, it seemed first, that when land was privately sold tracts under 50 acres were either not involved or more probably were consolidated into larger units. And second, that a greater percentage of the farms sold had less than 250 acres than in the case of the original warrant lands. Those tendencies suggest a breaking up of some of the larger estates. One reason might well have been the division of farms among children, of which the records gave numerous instances.

But there was another influence making for the subdivision

[7] *Archives*, III, 47-48, 99-101, 221-228, 233-237.

[8] *Ibid.*, V, 390-391, 394-395; John Kilty, *Land-Holder's Assistant*, pp. 125-126, Baltimore, 1808.

[9] The following *Rent Rolls* in the Land Office at Annapolis were used: for Anne Arundel County, v. 1, no. 1; Baltimore County, v. 2, no. 2; Charles County, v. 1 & 2, nos. 1 & 2; Dorchester County, v. 2, no. 2; Kent County, v. 1, no. 1; Somerset County v. 1, no. 1; Talbot County, v. 1, no.1.

TABLE III.

Comparison of the Sizes of Plantations Acquired by Sale and by Grant.

Acres	Percentage of Plantations in Each Class to the Decade Total								Percentage of Class Totals to Grand Totals	
	1660-1669		1670-1679		1680-1689		1690-1699			
	Sale [1]	Grant [2]	Sale	Grant	Sale	Grant	Sale	Grant	Sale	Grant
1-49	00%	02%	00%	07%	02%	12%	02%	10%	02%	07%
50-149	27	27	40	40	37	40	45	41	40	36
150-249	27	23	29	22	32	26	30	25	30	24
250-349	18	23	17	15	12	10	11	8	14	15
350-449	11	10	5	5	5	4	5	8	5	7
450-549	6	4	4	6	4	5	4	2	4	4
550-649	..	5	2	x	2	1	1	2	2	2
650-749	2	2	..	x	2	2	1	1	1	1
750-849	2	2	1	x	1	x	..	..	x	1
850-949	1	x	..	x	..	..	..	..	x	x
950-1049	3	2	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	1
over-1049	3	1	1	1	1	x	1	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

[1] Plantations sold by private persons.

[2] Plantations originally granted or sold by the Lords Baltimore.

x, less than 1%.

of original grants. It was land speculation, which has been mentioned. In that connection it is well to bear in mind that the almost exclusive commercial product of the province during the colonial period was tobacco.[10] Not only were the bay and lower river lands preferred for their fertility, but the hogsheads of tobacco could be most economically shipped when vessels could come directly to the plantation wharves. The conveniences of water locations were also apparent for human travel. Moreover, the further inland the new grants were made, the more virgin timber there was to clear and the greater the danger from the Indians. Thus it is logical to assume that as the population of the palatinate increased and indentured servants were freed[11] the bidding for those lands of the early adventurers and those land rights held by speculatively inclined ship masters would send prices for land higher and encourage the division of large holdings.[12] In such lands were, of course, those that had been retained by the proprietors.[13]

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[10] See, V. J. Wyckoff, *Tobacco Regulations in Colonial Maryland,* Baltimore, 1936.

[11] The original population of the colony was about 200 people. By 1660 there were nearly 8,000 inhabitants in all and this number had increased to approximately 25,000 in the year 1688; by 1701 the estimate was 34,000. Father White, "A Briefe Relation of the Voyage unto Maryland," Maryland Historical Society, *Fund Publications,* no. 35; *Archives,* XXV, 255, 259; Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in Southern United States to 1860,* p. 1025.

[12] In a study of the prices of these same plantations as a group, improved and unimproved tracts, there was an increase of 135% in the median prices from the seventh decade to the end of the century.

[13] Unfortunately the absence of similar studies of the sizes of land tracts in other American colonies for the same period makes impossible a comparison of conclusions.

INCIDENTS OF THE WAR OF 1812.

From the *Baltimore Patriot.*

[This statement by the only eye-witness present during the events which inspired the composition of The Star Spangled Banner, were not only printed in *The Patriot,* May 23, 1849, but were also reprinted in the columns of the National Intelligencer, June 4, 1849. It seems incredible that no commentator on this subject should have made use of this statement; diligent search in every probable place has failed to show any such use, the accepted and much quoted version being that of Judge Taney, printed in the volume of Key's poems in 1857. It has therefore, been here reprinted—Editor.]

Mr. Ingersoll's History.—In the extract published in the Baltimore Patriot of the 23d ultimo from Mr. C. J. Ingersoll's *History of the War of* 1812, as well as in the general public impressions respecting the attack on Baltimore by the British, there are some errors, of more or less account, which singular opportunities of noting the occurrences of that day, in the region of the Chesapeake Bay, enable the writer of these lines to notice in a friendly spirit.

It was then the writer's office, under a joint appointment from the State Department and the Commissary General of Prisoners, to act as agent for flags of truce and for the exchange of prisoners, and in that capacity to serve as the medium of intercourse between the Government and the enemy's forces in the Chesapeake Bay, from the commencement to the end of the war, when he was finally commissioned, jointly with Judge Bayly (father of the present honorable member from Accomac) and the late George Graham, to communicate to the British officer in command of the forces on this station the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and to reclaim from him the slaves, territorial and other property in their possession, according to the treaty stipulations.

Some time previous to the arrival of the British fleet, with its transports, at Bermuda, destined then not for the Chesapeake bay at all, but for New Orleans, the undersigned was

ordered down on business with the commanding officer, and first boarded a frigate off the mouth of the Patuxent, commanded by Captain Clavell, who, on inquiry for Admiral Cockburn, replied that he had "gone to sea," leaving him in command during his absence, and to him accordingly the despatches were handed. But, before as much time had elapsed as has done in writing thus far, an officer came to the door and desired to speak with him. Returning, and with a smile at the *ruse de guerre* he was playing, he now said, "I am ordered, sir, by signal from Sir George (who was lying ten miles below) to invite you to proceed to his ship, and he begs you will do him the favor to dine with him." The Admiral was then, as it afterwards appeared, on his way to Bermuda, to meet the fleet which he was aware was to rendezvous at that island, with a view to persuade Sir Alexander Cochrane that it was too early in the season to go to New Orleans, and that the mean time might be more safely and better employed by a visit, in the way of diversion, to the Chesapeake bay, and thus enable him to destroy Barney's flotilla, which, much to his mortification, had so far eluded his grasp.

Such is the true origin of the appearance of that British expedition in the Chesapeake bay, and of the final movement upon and conflagration of the Capitol; for, even when they ascended the Patuxent river, in pursuit of the Flotilla, which had retired, as it was supposed, to an inaccessible point above Nottingham, the expedition to Washington was not a part of their fixed design: nor was it decided on at last, as General Ross himself told the writer of this, until after the flotilla was blown up. Then, as he said, Admiral Cockburn urged him, he (Ross) having exclusive command of the land forces, to go ahead. "Let us," said he, "now push on, so far as to feel their strength, at any rate, and, if circumstances require it, we can fall back to our shipping." "Thus," said Gen. Ross, "we moved on until we came in sight of your army at Bladensburg. The men became excited; we made the attack, received while it lasted a deadly fire, but your troops broke and let us on the

capital." And here it may be noted, that, as well on this occasion as after the battle of North Point, the British officers often remarked, that whenever they met the American militia, in whatever numbers, the fire they received from them was much more fatal than that encountered in any part of the world. No troops could face them long, said they, if you could only get them to stand! This deadly execution, doubtless, proceeds from the universal use of fire-arms in our country, in shooting crows and squirrels, deer and pigeons, woodpeckers and bull-frogs, and from the instinctive habit of taking aim whenever a trigger is pulled. It would be easy to relate numerous particulars incident to the movements against Alexandria and Washington which would not be without their moral and historical interest, but that we have already digressed from our original purpose, which was, not to give a narrative of what happened, but merely to note a few unintentional and, perhaps, unimportant misapprehensions of fact.

On this visit to the enemy upon business growing out of the capture of Washington, the undersigned was instructed to take along with him Mr. KEY, of Washington, his mission having exclusive reference to the release of Dr. BEANS, a venerable cavalier of Prince George's county, who, on the retreat from Washington, had been seized in his house and carried off in the night under circumstances of gross harshness and indignity. His friends were persuaded that something might be hoped from Mr. Key's tact and persuasive manners in getting the Doctor released; and, though that was effected, as will be seen, by a different influence, Mr. Key's visit ended happily in giving us one national song that will be as imperishable as the naval renown it will forever serve to celebrate and to cherish. Such was the origin of "The Star Spangled Banner."

On boarding the flag-ship at the mouth of the Potomac we were invited to remain, and were soon summoned to dinner; the writer being placed next to and on the right of Sir ALEXANDER COCHRANE, the Commander-in-chief, and Mr. KEY on the right of Admiral CODRINGTON, Admiral of the Fleet, and

since the celebrated "*Hero of Navarino.*" This latter, after the wine had been in free circulation, allowed himself to remark, with somewhat unbecoming freedom, on the character of Commodore PORTER, particularly designating his having ordered a British sailor to be tied and flogged at the gangway of his ship (for insolence) in the Mediterranean. (By-the-by, there is no denying there was between our gallant Porter and the British naval officers "no love lost.")

The dinner was nearly over before the writer of these lines discovered, from something which was said incidentally, that the plainly dressed officer next on his right, the most reserved gentleman at the table, was no other than Gen. Ross, the "Hero of Bladensburg." Turning, then, slightly, to regard more particularly one whose name was associated with recent and mortifying occurrences of Vandal notoriety, there was yet visible on the left side of his neck a yet uncicatrized wound, received in the celebrated and bloody battle of Toulouse, where Marshal Soult so skilfully defended himself against a vastly superior force, led on by the "Iron Duke."

Seizing adroitly the first pause which ensued some warmth of reply to the assault, out of place and so mal-appropriately made on the character of PORTER, whom the writer was proud to regard as a particular and assured friend, Gen. Ross politely invited the writer of these lines to retire with him to the Admiral's cabin, and there first broached the business on which the visit was made, as far as Mr. KEY was concerned, he yet remaining with all the residue of the party at the dinner table. "Mr. S." said Gen. Ross, "It gives me great pleasure to 'acknowledge the kindness with which our officers left at 'Bladensburg have been treated. All that has been said on 'that point by the Commissary General of Prisoners, (the late 'talented Gen. John Mason) in his letter to me, has been more 'than confirmed by their own letters; and I wish you, therefore, 'to say to him and to the friends of Doctor Beans that, on 'that account, and not from any opinion of his own merit, he 'shall be released, to return with you." Thus, whatever degree

of obduracy might have been softened by the eloquence of such a pleader as Mr. KEY, it was not put to the test in this instance.

And now for your extract from Ingersoll's History. It says:

"General Ross, accompanied by Admiral Cochrane in the van, proceeded, without resistance, about four miles," &c.

Admiral COCHRANE did not land at all. He shifted his flag to the light frigate Surprise, commanded by his son Sir Thomas Cochrane, and proceeded to the river to direct in person the attack on Fort McHenry, while Admiral Cockburn landed, and proceeded with General Ross.

"The wound (of General Ross) was mortal. He fell into the arms of his aid-de-camp, and lived only long enough to name his wife and to commend his family to the protection of his country."

Admiral COCKBURN gave this account of his death to the writer of this. He said: "A soldier came running to me and asked if I knew the General had been shot? No, said I, it is impossible; I parted with him this moment." Admiral C. added: "My impression is, that if he could have been borne easily on a good litter to the boat, instead of being jolted down to it in a cart, he might possibly have been saved." "Although," he remarked, "I would not like his friends to know that such is my impression, as it would now avail to no good purpose." He further said: "He handed me a locket from his bosom, saying, give that to my dear wife, and tell her I commend her to my king and my country."

Now as to the plan and particulars of the attack. The arrangement between the Admiral and General in command was this: With an uncommonly favorable coincidence of fair wind with a high tide, which then existed, and such as rarely occurs, the Admiral expected to silence the fort, pass up some light frigates, and then, turning his guns upon the entrenchments, drive away its defences (sic) on Loudenslager's hill, and so let the army in, or up to a position from which the town might be laid under contribution or burnt. The first thing Admiral COCKBURN said to the undersigned the next morning after the

retreat, when he waited on Admiral COCHRANE for his answer to the despatches, was—even before the usual salutations, and having in view his previously expressed exulting anticipation—"Ah, Mr. S., if it had not been for the sinking of those ships 'across the channel, with the wind and tide we had in our 'favor, we should have taken the town; as it was, we flurried 'you, any how." "A miss, Sir George, is as good as a mile." And here it is due to that meritorious patriot, Commodore RODGERS, and to the truth of history, to state that this saving measure of sinking the ships was suggested and executed under his orders after the British hove in sight.

Then, as to the general plan and circumstances of the attack. After General Ross was killed, and Admiral COCKBURN, then proceeding with Col. BROOKE, had gotten sight or report of the entrenchments, he wrote a note to Admiral COCHRANE, saying that, if he would go on, in pursuance with their concerted plan, with a feint attack at midnight in the rear of the fort to draw off our forces from the main point of attack and defence on Loudenslager's hill, he, Cockburn, and Brooke, with the land and naval forces acting under his command, would undertake to capture our entrenchments "with a loss not exceeding five hundred men." To this note the Admiral, as he told the writer of this, answered, that, as he did not command the land forces, it was not for him to say, but that his advice was that they should return to the shipping in view of our preparations and means of defence, "lest they should endanger ulterior objects;" using the very words which afterwards appeared in his despatches home. Of course he did not mention what these ulterior objects were, but it proved to be New Orleans, the "great ulterior purpose of the expedition," and from which they had been diverted at the urgent instance of Admiral Cockburn, with whom it had become a matter of pride to demolish Barney's flotilla. But as, after he received the note from Cockburn, there was not sufficient time remaining for him to learn whether his advice would be followed, he was obliged to proceed with his part of the plan agreed upon, to

wit, to make the demonstration up Ferry branch; and hence were seen those portentous and well-remembered signal rockets, arranged to be thrown off at the time designated for the joint attack. If the original plan of attack had been carried out, it was then, at midnight, that the onset would have been made upon the entrenchments, when if made by a direct movement in front there is little doubt they would have met with a foretaste of what they afterwards encountered at New Orleans. Better for us, however; the advice of Admiral Cochrane was followed, and the attack relinquished. It was on the receipt of this missal from the naval commander that Col. Brooke, succeeding to the command of the army, considered it an indication that he had not succeeded also to the confidence enjoyed by his "illustrious predecessor," is said to have been so chagrined as to shed tears of mortification.

There was not on the part of the enemy any expectation of carrying the city, or of doing more than to create a diversion, by the night attack up the Ferry branch; and it is confidently believed that the loss incurred in making it has always been greatly overrated; yet that all the firmness of heart and gallantry claimed for the defenders at that point was justly due to them there can be no question.

"It was," says your extract, "during the striking concussions of that night that the song of *The Star Spangled Banner* was composed in the Admiral's ship."

Now, as it is not unworthy of that noble inspiration that its circumstances should be more exactly known. The author of the Star Spangled Banner was never on board the Admiral's ship after we were in sight of Baltimore. We had been invited during our detention to take up our quarters with the Admiral's son, Sir Thomas Cochrane, on board the *Surprise* frigate, the Admiral expressing regret that his own, the flag ship, was so crowded with officers that he could not accommodate us as he wished; but promised that his son (which he well redeemed) would make us comfortable until after the denouement of the expedition then going forward.

Dining every day with the Admiral and a large party of army and navy officers, his objects and plans were freely spoken of, and thus, when we arrived in sight of the city, the undersigned again demanded an answer to his despatches, to which Sir Alexander answered smilingly, "Ah, Mr. S., after dis-'cussing so freely as we have done in your presence our pur-'poses and plans, you could hardly expect us to let you go on 'shore now in advance of us. Your despatches are all ready. 'You will have to remain with us until all is over, when I 'promise you there shall be no further delay." Seeing no help for it, I demanded that we should then be returned to our own vessel—one of Ferguson's Norfolk packets, under our own "Star-Spangled Banner," during the attack. It was from *her* deck, in view of Fort McHenry, that we witnessed through an anxious day and night,

"The rocket's red glare, the bombs bursting in air;"

and the song, which was written the night after we got back to Baltimore, in the hotel then kept at the corner of Hanover and Market streets, was but a versified and almost literal transcript of our expressed hopes and apprehensions, through that ever memorable period of anxiety to all, but never of despair. Calling on its accomplished author the next morning, he handed it to the undersigned, who passed it to the *Baltimore Patriot*, and through it to immortality.

Your obedient servant, J. S. S.

[J. S. Skinner, Agent for Prisoners.]

LETTERS OF CHARLES CARROLL, BARRISTER.

(Continued from *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXXII, 2, page 190.)

5	six penny Ditto	
5	four Penny Ditto	
10m	two penny Nails	
2	S bitted large stock Locks	@ 5/ each
2	dº smaller dº	
2	Dozen Reap hooks	
3	Dozen Smiths files }	
1	Ditto Augers } sorted	
1	dº Chisels }	
1	dº X Cut saw files	
1	dº Whip saw Ditto	
1	dº Gauges	
6	Steel plate hand saws, handled	
1	faggot English Steel	
1	Cwt blistered Dº	
2	Dozen frying Panns sorted	
6	Grass scythes	2/
6	Ditto	3/6
2	Gross Gimlets sorted	
1	Cwt of high bristol Shott	
½	low Goose dº	
1	barr Lead	
3	bull hides Clear of holes and Cutts to be oiled but not Curryed	
1	Dozen Pewter Basons }	
1	dº Tin Funels } sorted	
10m	pins }	
4	Dozen Collar makers aul blads	
4	Gross Shoemakers dº	
2	dº dº Hafts	
6	Dozen Taylors thimbles	

2	dº Pocket Knives and forks sheathed	
1	dº Razors, 6 horse fleams	
1	Doz. sail Needles & 1 Dozen Palms	
1	dº. perch hooks & 1 Dozen perch Lines	
6	Doz. of Kirbys fish hooks & ½ Dº lines for them	
1	Dozen Temple frame Spectacles and Cases	
4	Gross metal Coat buttons	
6	Ditto vest Ditto	
2	Doz. small teeth ivory Combs	
1	dº Great Ditto horn Ditto	
6	Dozen Cotton Taws	
1	dº silk Ditto	
6	pieces of worsted ferreting	
4	dº silk Ditto	
6	dº narrow white Tape	
12 ℔	osnabrigs thread	
6	Coloured dº & 6 ℔ dº finer	
6 ℔	Whited brown thread	
½ ℔	of nuns thread sorted	
½	sewing silk	
100 ℔	of Bohea Tea	
20	of pepper	
4	of fig Blue	
6	Loaves of single refined sugar	
1	Dozen of White stone quart Muggs	
2	dº pint Ditto	
2	dº wide mouth stone Jugs	
2	dº painted punch bowls	
2	Doz. mens felt hatts	
2	dº Boys Ditto	
1	dº Mens Caster Ditto	4/
6	Scrubing Brushes	
6	Hair Brooms	
1	Dozen lawn sieves	
3	dº hair large Ditto	
3	Ditto Bed Cords	

12 ℔ of Candle wick
1 Ledger } containing
1 Journal } of the best paper

		inches		inches
9	Quire	18	long &	11½ wide
6		15½		10¼

and ruled for double Entries and the Edge of the Covers be Plated with brass.

1 Alphabet for the Ledger
2 Reams of large writing paper uncut
6 Bibles in twelve
½ ℔ Wafers
6 Calf leather pocket books with proper divitions
1 brass Diagonal seale 12 Inches long with sundry other seales and lines of Chords thereon.
1 brass prowactor 4 Inches diameter
Dividers and other protracting Instruments in a Case but no sector.

The undermentioned Goods to be put up seperate and seperate bills of Parcel marked as ℔ margin.

2	pieces strong brown osnabrigs	@ 7d ½
2	dº brown Roles	
1	dº yard wide Chex	@ ½
1	dº Irish Linnen	¼

3 yds Shenting
20m ten penny nails
1 steel plate hand saw handled
1 mans Caster hatt & 6 mens felts Ditto
6 Boys felt hats
8 yards of Garman serge shalloon and other trimings thereto.

Sir

I have wrote to Mr Bacon for some Goods for the Baltimore Company for my Proportion and have shipped him some Iron by Captain Thomson to Pay for the same but as the Invoice was Larger than I Expected it will not Clear the amount.

I Desire you would Enquire of him whether he Inclines to send all the goods ordered if not Please to Ship me what he Does not send of them and Insured as I have Directed him and I will next year make you Remittance to Pay for them.

I am Sir your most humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis September 8th 1758
To Mr William Anderson Mercht
in London
℔ Captain Creamore
℔ Captain Miller

Sir

Please to add to the Goods I before wrote for if this arrives in time If not send me by the first opportunity Ten pair of H Hinges suitable for Chamber Doors one Eight Inch Brass Lock and Furniture three pair of Brass H Hinges for Parlour Doors

I am Sir your most Humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland November
15th 1758
To Mr William Anderson Mercht
in London

Sir

I Have of this Date Drawn on you a set of Bills of Exchange Payable to Benjamin Tasker Esqr or order at thirty Days

sight for seven Pounds Eight shillings sterling which Please to Pay and Place to the account of

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis February 2d 1759
To Mr William Anderson mercht
in London

Sir

Yours of the 13th of November last I Received with my account Current. I want sent me by the first opportunity to Annapolis the Contents of the Inclosed Invoice.

Please if it be Convenient to send them to me and you shall be Refunded by Pigg or Barr iron if Can Get ships to Take it in to you this years shipping or Bills if I Can Get them If not you will I believe be safe in what may be the advance and shall as soon as Possibly Effects Can be sent you be Repayed with anything you advance for me with Interest I suppose tho' they may be sent by a Runing ship the Insurance will not be very High as our men of war are so very Active.

I would have them Insured so that in Case of Loss may Draw the Cost and Charges Clear. I am with kind Compliments to all with you

Dear Sir your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland May 23d 1759
To Mr William Anderson merchant
in London.
℔ William Steuart to New York
℔ sent to New York by the Post.
By Dickerson Ship from Choptank to Whitehaven

Invoice of Sundry Goods sent Inclosed in a Letter to Mr William Anderson merchant in London Dated the 23d of May 1757 Viz.

One set of Tea and Coffee Cups with Tea pot slop Basin &c I suppose about six Guineas

Four Dozen Burnt China Plates
Two Doz. Ditto sl soop Ditto
one Doz. Dishes of Different sizes
two Pickle Boats
} same sort

Half a Doz: China Blue and white Deep Dishes of Different sizes one Doz: Custard Cups
one Doz: Coarse Blue and white Patte Pans
Two Dozen best hard mettle Dining Plates
one Dozen soop Ditto Ditto
one Doz Ditto water Plates
half a Dozen Dishes Different sizes
one Toreen or Soop Dish
Two Dozen wine Glasses
Half a Doz. water Ditto
Four Quart Decanters and Four pint Ditto
one Black shagreen Case with a Dozen Table silver Handled Knives and Forks and one Dozen spoons.
A set of silver Castors in a silver stand
one silver three pint Coffee pot
one Silver small salver and one of a Larger size
Two silver Butter Boats
Two pair of silver Common sized Candle sticks
one pair of neat steel snuffers
Two silver pint Canns and one Two Quart Tankard
Two pair of silver Fashionable salts
all of the neat Plain Fashion and the Inclosed Coat of Arms or Crest as suitable to the Fashion Engraved thereon
one Copper Plate warmer.

Gentlemen.

On your letter to Mr Samuel Middleton I have sent you by your schooner six Tons of Barr Iron in four hundred and Ten barrs at Eighteen Pounds sterling ℔ Tun our selling Price Here. As your Currency will not suit me I shall Expect Bills sent me for it by an opportunity that you Can Trust within a month from this time as I shall have an opportunity of Remiting them.

There is one Mr George Jamison a smith of your Town who often Comes this way if he should be Coming you may send them by him Inclosed In a letter to me

If you should want Iron at any time and let me have a Line of Notice about a month before you think of sending up for it I will have it Drawn out for you according to the Dementions you shall Direct and Ready for your orders. Shall be Glad to know if flower be a Commodity wanted with you or if any opportunity of shipping Pigg Iron to England

I am Gent your most Hble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland August
16th 1759
To Messrs Roberts and Slatters
merchants at Norfolk in
Virginia.

Gent.

I have shipped you in your ship the Desire Captain Saunders Ten Tun of Baltimore Pigg Iron I Desire you will make Insurance on the said ship for me that In case of Loss I may Recover Clear fifty Pounds.

I am Gent yr mo. Hble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Augst 27th 1759
To Messrs. Anthony Bacon and
Company Merchts in London

Gent.

The above is your account for Iron sent you by your schooner Desire that by the Bearer Hereof William Holland youl send me Bills of Exchange or sterling Cash for the same and his Receipt shall be Good against

Gentlemen your most Humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis September 5th 1759
To Messrs Roberts and Slatters
merchants at Norfolk in Virginia

Mr Younger Keilsick
Sir

There was sent to you by mistake from the ship Desire Captain Saunders Either a Box or Bale marked ⅄ H Number 2 or 4 which belongs to me I shall be obliged if you by the Bearer Hereof William Holland send me the same.

I am Sir your most Hble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis September 5th 1759
To Mr Younger Keilsick
merchant at Norfolk
in Virginia

Gent.

Yours per the Tryall of September the first 1758 I Received with accounts of sales of Pigg Iron and Tobacco but observe you make a mistake In the No of Hhds shipped you in the Tryal there were two one of my own marke and one marked PAE No 1 as ℔ Captain Mills Bill of Lading which have now by me appears Hope you will Rectify the account and Credit me with

the Produce of that hhd I applyed to all your Captains and to Mr Cambell to take in Pigg Iron for me this year to you But they had Engaged your ships hope it will not be so next year and that you will let me Come in for an Equal share with your other Correspondents

I am Gentlemen your most Hble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 15th 1759
To Messrs John Steuart and Company
Merchants in London
℔ Captain Ridgeley
℔ Capt. John Johnston

Gent.

Yours of the 20th of march Came to hand wherein you Desire some Tobacco from me I assure you if I was a Maker I know none to whom I would more willingly Consign it But I Deal Chiefly in a Harder ware and am obliged to Employ almost all my hands to raise Provision for the workmen.
Part of my Iron I would this year have sent you But your Captains were Provided and Indeed I think it a Little hard that they will not or you will not now and then order them to admit me to share in your ships with your other Friends however I Promise you shall Embrace Every opportunity of Corresponding with you as I am with sincere Regard

Gentlemen your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 15th 1759
To Messrs. Capel and OsGood Hanbury
Merchants in London.
℔ Captain Brown
℔ Capt. Ridgely
℔ Capt. Johnson

Gent.

Inclosed I send you a Certificate and Bill Laading for Ten Tons of Pigg Iron I should this year to have made you sufficient Remittances & to have Ballasted your ship Had not she been Promised before to Mr Grimes by Mr Franklyn and the fewness of the ships in the Country and their being Chiefly Engaged to the Tobacco maker who are iron masters is the occasion of my not shipping you what I have by me and Ready for you I hope you will order your Captains next year to take it in for me

I am Gentlemen your most Humble servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September 17th 1759
To Messrs Anthony Bacon & Company merchts in London
℔ Captain Ridgely
℔ Capt Saunders
Sept. 20th 1759

Dear Sir.

I have Agreeable to yours of the 6th of April to Enable you to Proceed in Messrs Blakes affair with the Tildens sent you a Power of Attorney which hope will Do

This has been a bad year for shipping pigg or Barr Iron occasioned by the fewness of ships in the Country or would have sent you what I have Ready However have I hope been able Jointly with Mr Walter Dulany to Get one opportunity by Fanning to send you thirty five Tons the Proceeds of one half if it Gets time Enough to the ship to be taken in as the Captain seems to be in Great Hurry to Get away with the fleet to be Carried to my account the other to his he will as he has the Transaction of the affair write you more fully on it. I Expected to have had a Bill from Virginia for 100 and odd pounds to have sent you by the fleet but shall not be able to Get

it till after their General Court which is next month you may by the first ships after that Depend on it, it is Impossible if you Gentlemen in the Trade will Consider the matter and Hand our friends that the Pigg iron made in England Can by any means Lower the Price of our Iron they are of Different natures that made with you being a morose Churlish Iron and fit only for Castings and Indeed only for those of the Rougher sort ours a Tough malliable Iron for Bolting nails &c. which as the Demand for it Can not (whatever Quantitys you make in England) be Lessened must Keep up its Price But I fancy you would find on strict Inquiry that they Dont make the Quantitys in England they talk of and that it is only a scheme to Beat Down our Price I am however Certain that it Cant Continue but that the Projectors in that will share the fate of most others and Repent when to Late.

The Cottons you sent me in this year I think are Dear and thin I wish they may be able to hold out the winter whatever I write for marked with my own mark I would have sent of the best sort as they are always for my own use

if Fannin should not sail with this fleet this Letter will Reach you time Enough to make Insurance on one half of the said thirty five Tons of Iron for me that in Case of Loss I may Recover at the Rate of five pounds ℔ Ton which I Desire you will do If he should sail with the fleet and this letter Reaches you before you hear of his arrival I Leave it to you Discretion to secure me against any Loss that may Happen I Chuse to Risque as little as Possible.

I am with sincere wishes for yourself and family happiness

Dear Sir your Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland September
25th 1759.
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

Mr Dulany Just now writes me word that he has Desired you to Insure at £6 Cur in Case of Loss as Property shall appear I agree to it

Yrs mt Supt

C. C.

Sir

I am sorry I am Disappointed in making you the Remittance by iron in Fannin as Intended But it Got too late to the ship to be Taken in She having one hundred Hhds Tobacco on Board so that Have the Freight of half of it to Wye and Back to pay this will Prevent your making the Insurance wrote for

I am Sir your most Humble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland Septr 27th 1759
To Mr William Anderson
mercht in London

Sir

there is missing of the Goods sent me this year in the Desire Captain Saunders for the Baltimore Company marked Ŧ H a Bale No 2 Linens from John Cookson the value Charges Included about twelve pounds wch however you may see by the shop note and your Books

I shall not give the Captain up his Bill of Loading if Do not Receive it and send you this that you may Get me paid for it by him at home if I Dont Get Satisfaction for it of him here or Receive it wch youl know by his Producing the Bill of Loading it is to much too Lose

I am Sir your most Humble Servt

C. C.

Annapolis September 28th 1759
To Messrs Anthony Bacon and
Company Merchants in London

Mr Unckles

Inclosed you have a List of the Tenants names and their yearly Rents and as I Cannot any Longer afford to Lay out of so much Interest and Rent But am Determined to have it yearly paid till the Principal sums are Discharged Interest and all you must Annually Distrain for the Quit Rents and all the Interest on Each Respective Bond Except the Land Tax which must be Deducted and they must have an allowance for out of the Rent as they are themselves to pay it to the Sheriff where new Bonds are Given the Interest arising due on the old Bonds and Quit Rents due since the Passing the old Bonds must be Included in the new I will not any Longer suffer the Rents to be unpaid as I see no Good End Can be answered by it But the making them more Negligent and for Getfull I have Tried forbearance Long Enough and to have so much out and nothing Coming in for it is what in Justice to myself I Cannot afford and as I have given them warning and time Enough to Provide and Prepair I am sure they Cannot think it hard or Complain that I now take this method as they will not Comply without it they may avoid the Expence of a Distress upon them by Complying But in making the Distress if they Dont Comply Run them to as little Expence as possible and to shew them that you Do nothing But by my orders this Letter you may shew to them

I am your Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis September 28th 1759

To Mr Unckle Unckles
Pipe Creek

P. S. the first Distress to be made on those that do not Comply with out it this Fall.

Sir

I send you Down an Account Inclosed against Messrs Roberts and Slatter merchants of your Town I know nothing of

the Gentlemen but let them have the Iron on their Promise of Remitting me the Bill for it by the first opportunity, since when I have Received from them nothing But Trifling Excuses I must therefore Beg as a favour from you that you will Press them for the money for me which I had Rather have in Bills) But if they are not to be had will Take sterling Cash Pistoles w^{t} at sixteen shillings and six pence or our Currency or Pennsylvania at fifty ℔ Cent Exchange But if none of these to be had of them which Please to Press for I will rather than be Troubled Longer with them take your Currency at the Current Exchange tho. it will Lay Long by me here as we have not much Demand for it, and Keep it in your hands till M^{r} Middleton Comes Down which I Expect will be by the first Breaking up of the hard weather or send it me by the first safe opportunity I send Inclosed Likewise a Letter open to them which Please to seal and Deliver them If they Delay and you think there is any Danger of Losing it Take some Step to secure me Either by taking their Bond with Good security Payable to me which I would not have Done if there is any Probability of Getting me the money Immediately as I am in want of it or apply to some Lawyer you Can Confide in to Commence an Action on the Account as sent if he Can, or to send me as soon as Possible Instructions and he shall have the necessary Proofs or Powers to Enable him to Do it. They Promised me Bills Immediately after their General Court if they pay in them Please to see that the Drawer or Indorsers be substantial if the Drawer be not I would not take them on their Indorsement only but should Chuse to have another Reputable one. But this I leave to your management, shall be much obliged for a Line from you by the first opportunity and if I can be of any service to you here Please Freely to Command

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis December 28th 1759
To M^{r} Ashbery Sutton
Norfolk Virginia

Gent.

I have not as yet Received agreeable to your Frequent Promises the Bills for the Iron I sent by your schooner but on the Contrary nothing but Trifling Excuses and Delays I Desire therefore that you will on the Receipt of this Pay into the Hands of Mr Ashberry Sutton of your Town whose Receipt shall be Good against me the Sterling Cash or Good Bills in such manner as he shall approve of or I must take such steps to secure myself and Compell you to Complyance with your word as may not be agreeable to you and I assure you will not to

Gentlemen your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis December 28th 1759
To Messrs Roberts and Slatters
Merchts Norfolk, Virginia

Sir

I have Been Hitherto Disappointed in Receiving the Bills mentioned in myne of the 25th of September last Intended to Remitt you for what I might be in arrears on account of what I wrote for in myne of the 23d of may But Expect Every Day to have them. The Delay as the Debt is safe I hope will Inconvenience to you

Fanning not Taking in Mr Dulanys and my Iron was a Disappointment as well as a fruitless Expence to me as I was obliged to pay Freight for it to Wye. I hope to make it up you will Direct him or any of your Captains to take in for me this year Pigg or Barr of both which I have a Great Quantity by me and want to Get home. I am with Compliments to all with you

Sir your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis January 26th 1760.
To Mr William Anderson
Merchant in London

Sir

There are often to be met with out of Business fellows that understand Common Gardening as Laying of Turf Kitchen and Flower Gardening mowing and the management of an orchard I am in want of such a one and would go as far as twenty Pounds sterling Crimp money Passage and all Expenses Included for one that would Indent to me if Cant be got Cheaper for seven or five years I should Chuse a fellow about forty years old as those that are younger are not Easily managed. If such a Person to be met with and will Indent I will pay him the Residue of the twenty pounds after the Crimp money and Passage and necessary Expences in Getting him Here Deducted Either by the year or at the Expiration of his time or if he will not agree otherwise shall be obliged if youl advance it before he Embarks but so as to be sure of him

I am Sir y^{r} most H^{ble} serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Jan^{y} 29th 1760
To M^{r} William Anderson
Merch^{t} in London

M^{r} Henry Gaither

You may Receive what Rents you Can that are due from William Thomas Benson to me for Barbers Beginning out of which you must pay the widow Cumming Her third part there are Honestly Due me five years and he Cant Justly Refuse to pay them.

I have also due to me from Henry Bateman for the Rent of Presley at Ten pounds ℔ year two years Rent one of which years Rent if you Can Get it of him you may Receive

Barbers Beginning was at three pounds Currency ℔ year I

think if you Can Get these Rents you will have a most Extraordinary Good Bargain of me

I am your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis Febry 7th 1760.
To Mr Henry Gaither

Mr David Watson

I wrote to you some time ago but have Received no answer I must now Repeat that I Expected you would some time last fall have been Down with me as you Promised to Discharge your mortgage. I am in want of thirty Pounds of your Debt which I must have by the last of March and if that Complyed with I will give you till the Fall to make up the Rest, I expect not to be Disappointed again

I am yr Hble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Febry 28th 1760
To Mr David Watson
Fredk County

Gent.

I shall ship you in your Ship the Molly Captain Lewis now Loading in Great Choptank Twenty Tons of Baltimore Pigg Iron, as I hope it will Clear me at Least five pounds ℔ Ton

I Desire you will make Insurance for me on the said Ship there and thence to the port of London and there till unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw Clear of all Charges the sum

of one hundred pounds the Charges of such Insurance Place to the account of

Gent your most Humble servant

C. C.

Annapolis Maryland June 5th 1760
To Messrs Capel and ozGood Hanbury
Merchants in London
Two Copys sent to Mr Daniel Wolstenholm
one ℔ post to New York to go in the
Packet June 21st 1759. One Given
to Mr Graham to Go By Capt Garnet
℔ Captain Curling Augst 12th 1760

Gentlemen

Inclosed I send you Bill of Lading and Certificate for twenty Tons Baltimore Pigg Iron I observe in your account Current Dated October 1st 1759 that tho you Credit me with the Nett proceeds of the Bar you do not Credit me with the four Ton of Pig shipped with the Eight Ton of Barr in George Snow in 1758 for which I have Bill of Lading from him shall be Glad if it be sold to have the account thereof as I hope my Iron will Clear me five pound ten shillings ℔ Ton or more you will have a Ballance in your hands in my Favour I Desire therefore that you will Cancel my Bond Given at my Departure from England to Messrs John Hanbury and Company by tearing off the seale and send it me Cancelled by the first opportunity I Desire you will send me by the first opportunity Convenient to Annapolis one Good strong Light Carricle with Harness for two Horses with the Inclosed Coat of Arms or Crest as Fashionable on the Carricle. the wheels I would not have over High as our Roads are not the best. it must not be heavy as will not suit Getting into our Ferry Boats or small Horses. of the Genteel Taste but not whimsical and one strong Leather Portmanteau Trunk to Carry a suit or two of Cloths

and some shirts with straps to fasten behind the Carricle such as they usually Travel with behind Post Chaise with a Couple of Good Light whips for Driving Please to Insure on them so that In Case of Loss I may Draw their value and the Charges I am with true Esteem

Gen^{t} your most Humble Servant

C. C.

Annapolis, July 10th 1760
To Mess^{rs} Capel and ozGood Hanbury
Merchants in London
℔ Captain Lewis and Curling Brice and Coolidge

Sir

I shall ship you in your ship the Charming Nancy Capt. Fanning now Loading in Chester River thirty five Tons of Baltimore Pig Iron as I hope it will Clear me at Least five pounds ℔ Ton I Desire you will make Insurance on Her for me there and thence to London and there untill unlivered that in Case of Loss I may Draw one hundred and seventy five pounds Clear

I am Sir your most Humble serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis August 4th 1760
To M^{r} William Anderson
Merch^{t} in London
℔ Captain Lewis and Curling
℔ Captain Waters ℔ Captain Brice and Coolidge

Sir

I shall ship you in the ship Wye River Capt. Noel fifteen Tons of Balt. Pig Iron I Desire you will make insurance for me on the same that in Case of Loss I may Recover seventy five Pounds Clear the Deductions and the Charges of such Insurance Place to the Acc^{t}

of Sir Y^{r} mo. H^{ble} Serv^{t}

C. C.

Annapolis Aug 6th 1760
To Mr William Anderson
Merchts in London
℔ Captain Coolige
℔ Captain Brice
℔ Captain Lewis and Carling

Sir

Inclosed I send you the two first undernoted Bills of Excha. Amtg to £159.. 6.. 3 with wch when Paid Please to Cr my Acct or Return me under Protest By the first oppertunity

I am Sir Yr mo. Hble Servt
C. C.

Annapolis Augt 12th 1760

Benj'n Southwell & Co on William Baker Esqr London	£ 56.. 12.. 3
Whytehaven Payable in London Jno Hutchings on Peter Hoover	102.. 12.. 0
	159.. 6.. 3

To Mr William Anderson
Merchts in London ℔ Capt. Curling

Invoice of sundry Goods sent inclosed in a letter to Mr William Anderson Merchant in London Dated the —— day of September 1760.

One Turkey Carpet suitable for a Room 25 feet Long and twenty Broad at about Ten Guineas

one Ditto for a Room Twenty feet Long and Eighteen Broad at about six Guineas

two Looking Glasses with Gilt Frames of the Plain Genteel Fashion The same Patterns for a Room thirteen feet Pitch with Double sconces or Branches fixed to the Frames of the Glasses as the Room where they are to Hang is stocco'd and no

places left for fixing the sconces if separated from the Glasses at about Ten Guineas Each

Four Dressing Table Mahogany Looking Glasses with small Drawers at the Bottom at about 25/ or 30/ Each

one four Wheeled post Chariot made Light and Fashionable without a Box strong and neat with Plain simple strong springs Lined with Green Cloth Painted and ornamented Fashionably with the Inclosed Coat of Arms with saddle and strong Good Harness for a pair of Horses the Crest in Brass Plates on the Harness and a spare set of Glasses that may be Provided against Accidents suppose may be Got Compleat for about seventy or eighty pounds would not have it of the small Dapper Fashion but of the Roomy sort as it is not for Travelling into the Country with but for Town use and they answer much better than heavy Chariots with Boxes as our Horses are but small and Ground Deep and sandy one suit of Blue Cloth or other Fashionable Colour for an undress suit of Cloths Coat waistcoat and Breeches the same made in french Frock Fashion Laced with narrow Double Gold Lace about fifteen pounds

one full Trimmed Dress suit fine Cloth with Fasshionable Double Gold Lace Coat waistcoat and Breeches the same Grave Fashionable Colour about twenty five pounds to be had of Thomas Eccleston in Carey street who has my measure and fitted me very well with the last Cloths sent neither suit to be made in the Extremity of the Fashion. I send my measure in Case he should have Lost that sent before or should not be Living

one pair of Burrs or French mill stones for a water mill four feet Diameter fifteen inches Thick the Eyes Exactly in the middle and strongly Hooped with Iron if needfull and the best Directions for Fixing Dressing and managing them if any to be had

(*To be continued*).

THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI.

Its Origin, Character, and Purposes: Membership and Present Vacancies.

In May, 1783, at the close of the War of the Revolution, which established the independence of the thirteen states which had successfully revolted against the restrictions placed upon them by the British Government of that period, officers of the Continental Army (that is to say, officers holding commissions issued by the Continental Congress) then "in the Cantonment on Hudson's River" established an Order, which they, out of high veneration for the character of the illustrious Roman, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (who in the fifth century Before Christ, after preserving the institutions of the Roman state, laid down the dictatorship and returned to the plowing of his own fields), denominated:

The Society of the Cincinnati.

The "Institution" which was prepared and adopted by the founders of the Order, not only set out the "immutable principles" upon which the Society was based—the first of such "*immutable principles*" being: "An Incessant Attention to preserve inviolate those Exalted Rights and Liberties of Human Nature for which they have Fought and Bled and without which the High Rank of a Rational Being is a Curse instead of a Blessing"—but provided that the following classes of officers of the Continental Line should be eligible for membership:

1. Those in service at the time of the founding of the Society;
2. Those previously deranged by act of Congress;
3. Those having had three years service as officers of the Continental Line.

Provision was also made for immediate representative membership as to officers who had died in the service and for the perpetuation of the Society through hereditary succession.

"For the sake of frequent communications" the "General Society" was divided into "State Societies," and a "State Society" was established in each of the thirteen original independent states on the North American continent. A fourteenth "State Society" was likewise established in France, composed of certain officers who either as allies, or in the American Continental forces, had participated in the War for Independence then just terminating.

While at one time or another certain of the "State Societies" have been dormant, the "General Society" and certain of the "State Societies", including that of Maryland, have had continuous and uninterrupted existence from the time of their establishment. Every dormant "State Society" has been revived—including that in France—and today all are active.

The most recently published roster of the "General Society" (that of 1935) shows seventy-seven living members on the Maryland roll. The records of the Society also show that there are one hundred and ninety-two names of "Original Members" on the Maryland roll, many of whom are not now represented. The Society has also, since 1854, admitted to its membership representatives of Continental Officers who did not become "Original Members" but whose services were such as to provide the basis for successor membership in the Society. There are further officers, who may now become represented under the "Rule of 1854."

At its annual meeting held on February 22nd, 1937, the "Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland" passed a resolution expressive of its desire to include in its membership representatives of lines now dormant, and appointed a Committee with authority to bring to the attention of gentlemen who may be eligible and interested the fact that the Society would be glad to entertain applications for membership based upon the ser-

vices of those officers whose services provide the grounds for it and who are not presently represented in the Society.

A list of officers (not regarded as final) on whose services memberships may be based has been prepared, and a copy may be consulted in the rooms of the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore. A copy may also be obtained by writing Col. James Cresap Sprigg, Allston Apartments, Baltimore, Md.

The form for Application for Membership, and closer information as to the Rules for Admission to Membership may be obtained by addressing A. Murdock Norris, Esq., Secretary, Society of the Cincinnati of Maryland, 218 Water Street, Baltimore, Md. Briefly, the Society now admits but one representative for the time being as to any propositus, and adheres closely to the rule of primogeniture, reserving to itself the right to reject any application "whenever it may deem it for its interest to do so, and to choose such as seems to it best fitted to promote the ends of the Society"—an expression which is of course to be construed in the light of the "Institution".

An applicant may submit with his application "waivers" from others who may stand nearer the "right" in primogeniture.

The Committee takes this means to bring the situation to the attention of those who may be interested and expresses its appreciation to the Maryland Historical Society for its assistance in so doing.

THE ROCKHOLDS OF EARLY MARYLAND.

By Nannie Ball Nimmo

Robert Rockhold, seated upon 250 acres of land in Nansemund County, Virginia, before the 3rd of November, 1647, came into Maryland about 1649, and with Richard Bennett, John Lordking, William Pell, and others, settled in "Towne

Neck," in Anne Arundel County, where for mutual security they took up small tracts of land, to the intent they might seat close together. (C. P., f. 174, 203). (Founders, f. 9).

In August of 1651, Robert Rockhold and John Scotcher, also from Virginia, were granted 400 acres of land in Calvert County, on top of the Cliffts, the former having transported himself, his wife Sarah, and his two sons Robert and Thomas into the province to inhabit. This land was laid out for Robert Rockhold of Anne Arundel County, gunsmith, and John Scotcher, cooper, on the west side of the Chesapeake Bay adjoining the land of William Parker. (P. B. 4, f. 94.)

The connection existing between the two, does not appear. The latter died in 1659, his estate being administered upon by his widow Rose Scotcher. His inventory included a silver cup, silver dram cup, and a dozen silver spoons. (Test. Pro. 1^b, f. 56, 64.)

In September of 1659, the above 400 acres was surveyed for Robert and John Rockhold, sons of the first named Robert Rockhold, and called "Rockhould," and in 1672, was resurveyed for them, as the boundary trees had fallen down. (P. B. 16, f. 608).

It is assumed that Robert Rockhould, Sr. (the name so spelled after their coming into Maryland), died before July the 30th, 1666, at which time 90 acres of land on Scotcher's Creek, bounded south by Fullers, was laid out for John Rockhould, of Anne Arundel County, orphan, and was the land upon which he was then living. This land about 1706, was assigned by Thomas Rockhold, son and heir of John Rockhold, to Thomas Homewood. The tract was "Rich Neck." (P. B. 10, f. 235.) (A. A. Rent Rolls.)

Edward Rockhould, probably the son of Robert Rockhold, Jr., married in 1699, Mary, widow of John Nelson of Charles County, while Anne Rockhould, sister of John Rockhold, married Stephen White, who died in 1676, leaving a son by the same name. She married second, William Hawkins. Their son William Hawkins, Jr., was remembered by John Rockhould in his will of 1698. (Test. Pro. 17, f. 303.) (Wills.)

It is suggested, but not proved, that John Rockhould married Mary, the daughter of Lawrence Richardson, whose will of 1666, names his sons, John, Thomas, Lawrence, and his daughters, Sarah, Elizabeth, Mary, to whom he leaves some of his stock, called Violett, Mayflower, etc., while to his two young sons he leaves 280 acres of Upper Taunton, maybe the name of the tract taken from Taunton, Somerset, England, for in 1653, Elizabeth Smith, of Taunton, Somerset, in her will designates her kinswoman Elizabeth Richardson, then residing with her, as the wife of Lawrence Richardson, of Taunton. (Gleanings in Eng.)

Lawrence Richardson, Jr., made over his interest in the above-named tract to Joshua Dorsey, husband of his sister Sarah Richardson, while the remaining 120 acres was possessed by John Young, for Rockhold's heirs, this land in John Young's possession being mentioned in the will of Mary Rockhould in 1703. (Deeds, Rent Rolls.) (Warfield's Founders, f. 59.)

Nothing has been found to indicate that John Rockhould possessed land through his wife Mary, but 200 acres of Richardson's Folly, surveyed 1661 for Lawrence Richardson, was possessed 100 acres by Thomas Bland, 100 acres by John Rockhold. Richardson's Levell, 207 acres, John Rockhold bought from Thomas Richardson, and he later bought Burntwood Common. (Deeds, Rent Rolls.)

Other lands too, were taken up by him, and from a warrant of 583 acres granted him, 243 acres were surveyed into Rockhould's Purchase, on the north side of Curtis Creek, and 186 acres into Rockhould's Search, on the south side of the Patapsco River.

Both John Rockhould and his wife Mary were persons of education, their signatures written. In 1667 a warrant for 100 acres of land was granted John Rockhould, which warrant in 1669, he made over to William Hopkins, writing on the back of the warrant: "I John Rockhould do convey and make over to William Hopkins all my right to the within named warrant of land. Wit. Samson Waring. (P. B. 12, f. 358.)

Signed, John Rockhould."

In 1684, Henry Hemslay of Anne Arundel County, gent, assigned to John Rockhould, gent, Rockhould's Range, on the north side of the Patapsco River on Rich Creek. (Liber 22, f. 9.)

No positions of State seem to have been held by John Rockhould, but he appraised, with Thomas Blackwell and Henry Sewell, a number of estates, went security, and witnessed wills. He was closely allied with the Dorseys and the Howards, was a witness for Edward Dorsey in his suit against Thomas Bland and Damaris, his wife, and with John Rockhould, Jr., and Thomas Blackwell, witnessed the will of Joshua Dorsey in 1687.

Thomas Blackwell married Sarah (Richardson), the widow of Joshua Dorsey, and in his will of 1700 names his wife Sarah, her son John Dorsey, and Mary Rockhold.

John Rockhould and Thomas Blackwell appraised the estate of John Howard Sr., while in 1698, Thomas Blackwell and John Howard appraised the estate of John Rockhould.

Letters of Administration were granted Mary Rockhould on the estate of John Rockhould, as is noted, "Came Mary Rockhould, relict and administratrix of the last will of John Rockhould late of A. A. Co. deceased." The said Mary with John Howard and Lancelott Todd, were executors. Philip Howard swore the appraisers, John Howard, Jr., and Thomas Blackwell.

The will of John Rockhould, made 17 Feb. 1698, fails to mention his daughters, and John, Jr., living in 1687, is probably dead, and is not mentioned.

To son Thomas and heirs "Rockhould's Purchase" on Curtis Creek, Baltimore County, son Charles and heirs 207 acres of "Richardson's Levell" on Saltpetre Creek, Baltimore County, son Jacob and heirs 180 acres of "Rockhould's Search" on south side of the Patapsco River. To wife Mary, extrx., dwelling, plantation and "Burntwood Common" during life; to revert to son Jacob at her decease. To two cousins (nephews) Stephen White and William Hawkins, Jr., personalty. Sons desired not to sell land until reaching age of

30 years. Test. Lancelott Todd, Nathan Dorton and Thos. Ward.

Mary Rockhould outlived her husband about five years. Even before his death she was troubled, for on January the 25th, 1698, she wrote about it to Edward Batson, Deputy Comm.

"Mr. Batson,

Sir

These are to request you not to give letters of administration to any one for Nat Dotton's estate until I have seen you or sent you a ring.

All in trouble from your friend to command
Mary Rockhould." (Test. Pro. 17, f. 267.)

Her will made March 2nd, 1703, probated May 15, 1704, bequeaths to dau. Sarah Rockhould ten pounds, to sons Charles and Jacob Rockhould each ten pounds, to 2 daus. Susan Crouch and Elizabeth Tod 5 pounds each, to dau. Sebrah Rockhould a feather bed and furniture, to son Thomas Rockhould all my sheep. I give to Lance Tod all my shoe leather and goods coming in the fleets. I give Lance Tod my spaid Mare toads paying my debts. I give my son Lance Tod my tobacco made on my plantation last year and all that is on bord of the ship, with the rent of the said Land that John Young owes me and all other tobacco debts, sd Lance Tod to pay my debts with all, and all the Rent that shall be due in the next four years. 2 sons Charles and Jacob to live with my son Lance Tod until they arrive at the age of 18 years. Lance Tod to be whole and sole exec. Wit. Elizabeth Dunklose, Wm. Roper and Mary Parmer. (Elizabeth Dunklose written Elizabeth Dunkin in probate.) (Will Book 1, f. 14, Baltimore.)

Her administration bond by Lancelott Todd, William Cromwell, and William Cockey. May 15, 1704. Administration Bonds. C. H. Baltimore.

Thomas Rockhould married.

Charles Rockhould married Elizabeth Wright, daughter of Henry.

Jacob married.

Susannah Rockhould married first John Howard, son of Matthew and Sarah (Dorsey) Howard, second William Crouch.

Elizabeth married Lancelot Dorsey, son of Thomas of Anne Arundel County.

Sebrah married Frizzel.

Sarah married 1704 John Garner (At. A. Paris Reg.).

Their descendants are found in Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Harford Counties.

Samuel Greniffe in 1703, left personalty to Sarah Rockhould, James Crouch, and Maurice Baker.

BOOK REVIEWS.

The Colonial Period of American History. The Settlements. Vol. III. By Charles M. Andrews. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937. $4.00.

In the second volume of this series, published last year, Dr. Andrews discussed the functioning of the proprietary government in Maryland. Accordingly, it quite naturally follows that in this, the third volume of his colonial series, few references should be made to Maryland. Most of the book is devoted to a consideration of the settlement and colonization of Jamaica, New York, the Jerseys, the Carolinas and Pennsylvania. In the recently published volume, however, Professor Andrews makes interesting comparisons between proprietary rule in Maryland and in some of the other colonies. For example, he contrasts the powers exercised by Lord Baltimore and the Duke of York. The Duke's problem, Andrews maintains, in governing New York was simplified by certain circumstances which do not appear in Maryland history, and, as evidence of this, the historian adds:

In the first place the Duke of York never visited his province, and so family influence, which played so baneful a part in Baltimore's government of Maryland, was entirely absent from New York. Secondly, the duke gave away a large section of his territory and thus narrowed the area of his propriety, by withdrawing the lands between the Hudson and the Delaware from under ducal control. Thirdly, the duke never imposed an oath of fidelity upon all his people, as did Baltimore; he allowed all writs and processes to run in the king's name as Baltimore did not; and he never attempted to apply, as Baltimore did frequently, coercive methods of government and forms of land relationship that savored of medievalism. Fourthly, the accession of the duke to the throne of England automatically converted his propriety into a royal colony, though not one necessarily in which popular representation had a place. And, lastly, the downfall of the Dominion of New England, of which New York was integrally a part, but Maryland was not, left the province shorn of its official strength, an easy prey to insurgent attack.

Later, in the same chapter, Dr. Andrews compares the revolution in New York, led by Jacob Leisler, with the one in Maryland under the leadership of John Coode. Both revolutions were similar, states Professor Andrews, in that both were against "prerogative government, Roman Catholics in office, and French and Indian attacks; both were typical as uprisings employing armed force, intimidation, arrests, and banishment, and the formation of committees or conventions, under leadership." At the same time there were important differences. The revolt in Maryland was against the proprietor while in New York it was against an appointee of the crown. Consequently, as Dr. Andrews points out, King William "could and did approve the movement in Maryland, but he could not approve that in New York because he deemed it an affront to the dignity of a crowned head, and in that respect William was as unyielding as ever his predecessor had been."

When discussing the settlement and colonization of Pennsylvania Professor Andrews makes another interesting comparison between the proprietary powers exercised by Lord Baltimore

and William Penn. The historian calls attention to the fact that—

Though all reference to the palatinate of Durham was carefully omitted, Penn was given almost equivalent authority in the complete control he could exercise over the soil, in his right to determine the form of government, in his extensive privileges of local appointment, and in his ability to issue ordinances of his own in time of need. He could initiate and promulgate laws, but only with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen in assembly, that is, as later shown, by the freeholders. In all its main features the charter followed the standard type, differing, however, from charters of the earlier period in that it reduced considerably the proprietary prerogatives, toned down the strictly feudal aspects so as to render them as innocuous as possible, and reserved to the king all his sovereign powers.

From this it is obvious, continues Dr. Andrews, that Penn's charter, as compared with the one granted to Lord Baltimore fifty years before, or with that issued to the Duke of York in 1664, represented the changes that had occurred in the policies of the English government since the king had been restored to his throne. It is impossible to determine, adds Professor Andrews, "whether this minimizing of the proprietary features was the work of Penn himself, who in his earlier writings defended the liberties of the people as against the prerogative of proprietor or crown, or the work of the Lords of Trade and other of the king's advisers. . . . The latter may well have desired to reduce to the lowest possible terms the feudal terms of the patent."

From these quotations, taken at random from the third volume of Dr. Andrews' book on "The Colonial Period of American History," it is evident that the same high standard of historical writing, which characterized the first two volumes of the same series, is maintained in the volume just appearing. Nothing but admiration can be felt for the skillful and convincing manner in which Professor Andrews presents the results of his many years of original investigation.

Raphael Semmes.

Captains and Mariners of Early Maryland. By Raphael Semmes. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937. Pp. xvi, 856. $5.00.

Not long before this book appeared I became acquainted with that delightful Swedish institution known as a smörgåsbord. It was, I discovered, a large table loaded down with an abundance of fine foods from which the diners selected what they desired as frequently as they desired. There were good solid roasts and potatoes but the remarkable feature was the assortment of hors d'oeuvres and of strange dishes, some of which proved to be highly spiced and all of which excited interest. The resemblance of the meal to the book is striking for it, too, has as its chief characteristics abundance, self-service and new materials. There are some benighted people in this hurried and harassed age who may object to the Gargantuan feast which Mr. Semmes spreads before them. Such can be dismissed as unworthy successors of the early Americans who were true trenchermen, or they can be reminded that it is possible to take as little as they wish. There are others who may object to the self-service, for many readers seem to like authors who pass judgments on events or actors in positive, specific and concrete terms. Instead of doing that Mr. Semmes modestly effaces himself and has the actors tell the story in their own words. This makes it difficult to say who was right in a particular case or who deserves credit for some achievement. There are, however, offsetting advantages. Not only scholars with their worship of source material but others, too, will prefer his method which alone can give the true flavor of the period and by which alone one can really know the people. There are few readers who will object to the great variety of new and significant materials included, although here and there are morsels that may be too rich for some diets. To obtain his materials Mr. Semmes drew upon the Public Record Office and the British Museum in London, upon the rich collections of the Maryland Historical Society, upon manuscripts in private hands and, above all, upon the *Maryland Archives*, for Maryland enjoys the distinction of having pub-

lished more records concerning its early history than any of the other States.

The subject of the book is life in seventeenth-century Maryland which is considered topically rather than chronologically. The first brief section describes the country and the animals in it as they appeared to the startled eyes of the first settlers. Then follows the section of nearly one hundred pages which supplied the word "Mariners" to the title. From it one can understand the hardships of the voyage to America in cramped quarters and on a restricted diet of ship-biscuit, salt meat, peas and cheese. From it, too, can be gained an appreciation of the vital importance of ships, including small boats and canoes, to people who lived on the banks of a body of water like Chesapeake Bay. The third and still longer section has as its main theme the "Captains," the political and military leaders of the colony. Necessarily they were a hardy group of men. Only such could cope with the situation or maintain any authority over turbulent settlers excited by civil war in England or by rumors of "Popish plots," and exposed to constant danger from Indians. Inevitably the problem of governing was a serious one and military affairs occupied a large portion of everyone's attention.

The last and by far the largest section of the book deals with all aspects of the relations between the settlers and the Indians. Bit by bit a vivid history of the conflict between the two races is pieced together. It is a story of sudden death, of treachery on both sides, of great cruelty, of fortitude, of dramatic action and of a clash between incompatible economic systems. Each has his day in court. With rich detail and in vigorous language the white settlers state their complaints and show how they justified their conduct to themselves. Equally clear is the tragic outcome of the process for the Indians. The fate of the Susquehannocks caught between the warlike Iroquois on the north and the advancing white men on the south and east makes a moving story. So, also, is that of one of the smaller Maryland tribes which the Indians themselves depicted in a pathetic appeal to the Governor (p. 403).

As a scattered Remnant of a confused Nation We Come to see you once more, our Brother, before we are all Dead and Dispers'd out of this Nation which we are now the Antients of, for as there is but few of us Remaining, nay even But a handfull of us and but few Young men and Women, and as we love to Travel the Roads and other Places to seek the Support of Life, . . .

But now Some of the White People daily are seeking to Defraud and Deprive us of our lands, nay we need not say seeking to do it but have already done it, and keeps us from the Previledge of receiving any Benefit or Satisfaction for some of our lands which, if you our Trusty Brother suffers us thus to be evilly treated, we shall soon be quite Destroyed and Totally Pushed out of this Nation, but hope you, our Brother, will never Suffer us thus to be Treated.

In spite of their treatment of the Indians and in spite of their crudities the early Marylanders, when intimately known as they cannot help but be known to any reader of this book, win both liking and respect. If they lacked the culture and refinement so characteristic of the aristocracy of eighteenth-century Maryland, they had the energy and strength to make that aristocracy possible. Many a reader will thank Mr. Semmes for his pioneering energy and skill which has made it possible to share their lives and thoughts.

W. Stull Holt.

The Johns Hopkins University.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

May 10th, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight with President Riggs in the chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

A list of the donations made to the library was read.

The following named persons were elected to membership:

Active

Mr. R. Howard Bland
Mr. Thomas B. Butler
Mrs. Matthias L. Daiger
Mr. Matthias L. Daiger
Mr. William F. Cochran
Mr. Sidney Hall
Mr. R. Manson Smith
Mr. Nelson H. Stritehoff
Mrs. Augustus E. Sattler
Lt. Comm. Lee C. Carey
Mr. Thomas Machen
Miss Mary C. Goodwillie
Mrs. Oscar Leser
Mr. Edward Demarel Cook
Morris Leon Radoff, Ph. D.
Mr. Latrobe Cogswell
Mr. Laban Sparks
Mr. Franklin P. Whitcraft, Jr.
Mr. J. Rieman McIntosh
Mr. John L. Sanford
Mr. B. Charles Stephany
Miss Florence Hooper
Mrs. H. Cavendish Darrell
Mr. Charles Markell
Mr. John B. Stump
Mrs. John Glover Wilson
Mr. B. Frank Newcomer
Mr. Benjamin F. Kenney
Mrs. E. D. Edmonston
Dr. I. Ridgeway Trimble
Mrs. John J. McMahon
Mr. Walter W. Abell
Mr. Frederick H. Hennighausen

It was moved, seconded and carried, that the following named persons be elected by special resolution at this meeting, due to the fact that the regular meeting are to be discontinued during the summer months:

Active

Miss Heloise Beebe
Mrs. Prevost Boyce
Dr. William J. A. Bliss
Dr. Walter E. Dandy
Mr. L. Wylie Tipton
Mrs. T. Quincy Scott
Miss Dorothy McI. Scott
Mr. John Gray Goldsmith
Mrs. John Pleasants

Associate

Mr. Magruder Dent.

It was reported that the Commission appointed by the President of the United States to make plans for the celebration of the 200th birthday of Charles Carroll of Carrollton is most

actively arranging for a three-day celebration from September 11th to the 13th, inclusive.

Mr. Francis E. Old gave a most delightful and interesting talk, illustrated with lantern slides, of the old "Buildings of Baltimore."

Mr. William B. Marye moved that the thanks of the Society be extended to Mr. Old for his very interesting and instructive lecture.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

October 11th, 1937.—The regular October meeting of the Society had to be cancelled due to the fact that certain repairs were being made on the heating plant which left the building without any heat.

November 8th, 1937.—The regular meeting of the Society was held tonight. Owing to a recent bereavement in the family of General Riggs he was not able to be present. Mr. James E. Hancock was in the chair.

The minutes of the May meeting were read.

A list of some of the more interesting items presented to the Society during the summer months was read. The gifts were numerous so the complete list could not be read, but the total number consisted of 135 volumes, 253 manuscripts, 26 pamphlets, 5 maps, 10 newspapers.

The following named persons stood for nomination at the October meeting of the Society, and it was moved, seconded and carried that said persons be elected at this meeting as their names had been posted for more than thirty days:

Active

Mrs. Ronald T. Abercrombie	Mr. Charles H. Buck
Dr. Thomas B. Aycock	Mr. Allan L. Carter
Mrs. Thomas B. Aycock	Mr. H. Leroy Carter
Mrs. William C. Bode	Dr. Merville H. Carter

Msgr. Joseph A. Cunnane
The Most. Rev. M. J. Curley
Mrs. Harry Stanley Dickey
Mr. George R. Debnam
Mr. Joseph J. Flynn
Mrs. Joseph J. Flynn
Mr. Rayne W. Finch
Mr. Horace R. Ford
Mr. Samuel M. Hann
Mrs. Ellen W. Hodges
Mr. William B. Hysan, Jr.
Mr. Charles W. Lentz
Hon. William P. Lawson
Mrs. William P. Lawson
Mr. Lester S. Levy
Mr. William Henry Lloyd
Mr. Robert G. Merrick
Mr. C. Parker McPherson
Mr. John T. Menzies
Mrs. John T. Menzies
Monsignor John J. Murray
Mr. Hamilton Owens
Mr. John W. Owens
Mr. Robert E. Owings
Mr. Maurice F. Rodgers
Mr. Timothy Ryan, Jr.
Mr. Antonio J. Scopinich
Miss Mary Charlton Stokes
Hon. Robert F. Stanton
Mrs. Robert F. Stanton
Mrs. Alan P. Smith, 3rd
Miss Ursula G. Slaughter
Miss Mabel R. Vickery
Prof. Vertrees J. Wyckoff
Mr. Harry C. Weiskittel
Mr. Samuel L. Willard
Mrs. Norville Finley Young

Associate

Mr. Charles H. Upham
Rev. Samuel M. Shoemaker
Mr. Horace Van Deventer
Mrs. Lawrence S. Morris

The following deaths were reported from among our members:

George Weems Williams, on June 23, 1937.
Thomas Murray Maynadier, on June 24, 1937.
H. Oliver Thompson, on August 3rd, 1937.
Miss Eleanor S. Cohen, on August 6th, 1937.
William B. Rayner, on August 30, 1937.
Howard C. Beck, on September 22, 1937.
Mrs. William H. (Bertha Hall) Talbot, on October 15, 1937.
Dr. R. W. B. Mayo, on October 21, 1937.
Mr. Ferdinand B. Focke, on November 3, 1937.

The speaker of the evening, Morris Leon Radoff, Ph. D., gave an interesting account of the compilation of an index to

the County Records (Maryland) under the title "Comments on the Work of the Historical Records Survey."

Dr. Kent Roberts Greenfield moved that a vote of thanks be extended to Dr. Radoff.

There being no further business, upon motion duly carried, the meeting adjourned.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

In reply to a query printed in Vol. 27, p. 172, concerning descendants of Elizabeth Marshall, who married Samuel Austin, Col. Jason McVay Austin, Third Corps Area, P. O. Building, Baltimore, will be glad to furnish information to anyone who will communicate with him at this address.

Godman. Samuel Godman, was buried May 18th, 1733, according to Register of All Hallows Parish, Anne Arundel County, Md. His widow, Anne, married Snowden Taylor, November, 1734. Would like to communicate with anyone having data as to this Samuel Godman and his ancestors.

Samuel O. Godman,
Box No. 135, Fort Myers, Fla.

Millard. Information wanted on the Millard family in Maryland, or Jacob Millard, who came to North Carolina before the Revolutionary War.

William Stevens Powell,
123 Cowles St., Statesville, N. C.

Soper or Soaper. Wanted, the names of the parents of the following children:

Nathan Soper, married Ann Dorsey, November 21, 1791; Rachel Soper, married Edward Perry Vallein, December 26, 1796; Mary Soper; Esther Soper. All of Prince George's County.

Information wanted concerning this family, their ancestors and descendants.

Mrs. C. P. Stewart,
Blewett Falls, Pee Dee, N. C.

Hawkins—Thompson. Information wanted concerning Capt. John Hawkins, born 1750, in Charles County, Md.; died in Delraine, Fauquier County, Va., in 1803; married in 1781 to Alice Corbin Thompson, daughter of Dr. Adam Thompson of Upper Marlboro.

Dr. Adam Thompson of Upper Marlborough married Lettice Lee, daughter of Philip Lee of "Blenheim."

What is the line of Dr. Adam Thompson and his related lines?

George Langford, Jr.,
717 Jackson St., Joliet, Ill.

Child on a Mill Farm. By Eleanor Glen Wallis. Dallas, Texas, *c.* 1937. Pp. 94.

The author of this small volume of poems was born in Baltimore and spent most of her childhood on her grandfather's farm at Stemmer's Run, Baltimore county. The poems have been favorably reviewed in various literary journals.

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